

HISTORY *of* DOGMAS


TIXERONT

HISTORY OF DOGMAS

BY
J. TIXERONT

TRANSLATED FROM THE FIFTH FRENCH EDITION

BY
H. L. B.

VOL. II

FROM ST. ATHANASIUS TO
ST. AUGUSTINE (318-430)

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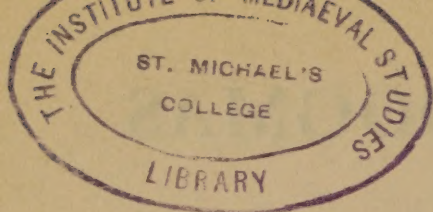
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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This and the following volume will treat of that period of the History of Dogmas, which is called especially the *Patristic* age.

The date 430, which we have adopted as the point of demarcation between the subject-matter of the second volume and that of the third, offers many advantages which we need not enumerate. It is open, however, to the drawback of separating from the history of the Pelagian controversies that of the Semi-Pelagian disputes which were their sequel and of which St. Augustine saw the beginning. To this drawback I find no remedy. Were the history of Semi-Pelagianism admitted into the present volume, it would be too bulky; then, too, I would encroach by more than a century upon the chronological order which many motives prompt us to follow. After all, the simplest plan is for the reader to look upon the next volume — when he has it in his hands — as a close continuation of this one, and to take the trouble to consult it in case of need.

The principles that governed the composition of *The Antenicene Theology* have also directed the composition of the present work. However, our readers will not fail to notice that the method of exposition has been somewhat modified and extended. Owing to the number and importance of the authors whose doctrine we have to present, it would have been as tedious as pedantic to take them up one after another and analyze successively their works. Hence I have adopted a plan of broad outlines, and, after studying the controversies peculiar to the East and to the West, I have described, in two general chapters, the state of Christian doctrines during the 4th century, both in the Greek and in

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

the Latin Church, taking for a starting-point these doctrines themselves. Exception has been made only in the case of the Syriac Fathers, whom their language isolates naturally from the others, and of St. Augustine, whom it was necessary to study separately. The analytical table of contents shows this arrangement: being drawn up for a twofold purpose and in a twofold manner, it will enable the reader, as regards the period from the year 318 to the year 430, both to reconstruct the whole teaching of each writer on the various topics of theology, and to find the exposition of each doctrinal topic in the various authors who treated it.

Most of this work had been written before the Encyclical *Pascendi* appeared. After reading the Pontifical document and comparing it with my work, I found in the latter nothing that had to be changed or suppressed. Thank God, I needed not the doctrinal decision of Pius X to be reminded of the regard due to the Fathers of the Church, and I have always made my own the words of Newman: "Be my soul with the Saints! . . . Sooner may my right hand forget her cunning, and wither outright, . . . ere I should do aught but fall at their feet in love and in worship, whose image was continually before my eyes, and whose musical words were ever in my ears and on my tongue!"¹ However, no one, I think, is inclined to believe that, even in an historical study, regard for the Fathers obliges us to dissemble or extenuate the speculative imperfections or even the mistakes of this or that Father on special doctrinal topics. In this case, the love of truth must prevail; the more so in that, as a matter of fact, these few shadows do not affect, provided we have a true estimation of these venerable men of old, the incomparable light that radiates from their writings.

LYONS, *October 1911.*

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, vol. I, p. 340, quoted also in *Apologia*, p. 116.

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HISTORY OF DOGMAS FROM ST. ATHANASIUS TO ST. AUGUSTINE

INTRODUCTION

With the 4th century begins, in the history of dogmas, what is generally called the period of the great controversies. Even before Arianism, the Church, it is true, had witnessed some important doctrinal conflicts that had shaken the faith of some of her children: even in the midst of the persecutions, as we have seen, the Christian mind did not remain inactive. But these controversies, except that of Gnosticism, had produced none of those deep disturbances which unsettle a society for a long while; nor had they given rise to the great episcopal assemblies, afterward so frequent, which brought together half the Church. Prevented as she was, both on account of her situation in relation to the state and on account of the scantiness of her resources, from exercising publicly in plenary assemblies her teaching power,—which besides seems not even to have been thought of,—it was by the authority of her daily *magisterium*, strengthened at times by the authority of local councils, that the Church of the first three centuries had excluded the errors that sought to insinuate themselves, and had marked out for the faithful the path of true belief.

After Constantine gave peace to the Church, another sit-

uation arose. Henceforth the existence and material life of the Church were safe; the nightmare of persecutions was forever banished, at least as regards the Empire, and certain minds, especially among the Greeks, took up the study of their religious beliefs with a lively interest and curiosity; following in the footsteps of the Alexandrian Doctors, they strove more and more to find in the abstract concepts and language of philosophy, concepts and formulas that would express the articles of their faith. But it was impossible that, in such an undertaking, mistakes should not be made, untruths uttered, and untruths the more dangerous the more learned and influential the men from whose lips they came. These departures from the truth have been called the *great heresies*,—great, not only on account of their object, but also and chiefly on account of the violent disturbances and separations to which they gave rise, the champions who took part in the disputes that ensued, and the writings they called forth and the decisions that brought them to a close; for to these heresies the Church opposed not only the authority of her ordinary *magisterium*, but also the power of her bishops gathered together and of her Councils. By means of their decisions and the researches which either led up to or followed these decisions the dogmas concerning the Trinity, Christ and grace, became almost completely defined and perfected; others, which were less important, were stated very accurately and made wonderfully clear.

Again, by the very fact of dogma being defined, a choice was made from among those various opinions which until then had been commonly received, and many interpretations, which so far had been freely propounded, were given up. For three hundred years, owing to the vital activity of doctrinal research, many views and solutions had been advanced in all directions. During the 4th century, the Church authorities begin to prune that rich vegetation and to cut off

the opinions that are deemed antiquated, or rather, to let them die out, as it were. By formulation, dogma is contracted. This does not mean, however, that there is not to be found, even in the writers of that age — and indeed far more than is commonly believed — some of the uncertainty both in thought and expression, that was noticed in the preceding epoch. But, at the same time, we behold in these exponents of Christianity a certain maturity of mind which has outgrown its childish timidity, a certain firmness which makes them face new problems with manly confidence and serenity. According to the title which was bestowed upon them as early as the 5th century, these writers are preëminently Fathers of the Church. Most of them were men who combined genuine holiness with high mental culture. Truly they fed the Church with their doctrine and teachings. No other period of ecclesiastical history equals, in this regard, the period which extends from the 4th to the middle of the 5th century, from St. Athanasius to St. Leo. During the following ages, originality is on the wane, and besides, other movements of thought come, as it were, to solicit Christian dialectics. However, the cause of truth always finds defenders, and the tradition of Basil and Augustine continues to have representatives. These have to perfect the work of their masters, and to this task they devote themselves, at times indeed without much success, but always with earnestness. At any rate, their endeavors deserve to be duly noticed; nor should we fail to acknowledge the complementary light they throw upon the solutions of their predecessors.

This epoch of the Fathers, the period of the great heresies, — the most important, nay, perhaps the most agitated period in the whole of ecclesiastical history, — is to be the subject of this and of a subsequent volume.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL SKETCH OF GREEK THEOLOGY DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY

§ 1. Schools and Scholars.

GEOGRAPHICALLY, the Greek Fathers of the 4th century may be divided into four distinct groups.

The first is the Alexandrian group: it comprises, together with Bishop Alexander, St. Athanasius, Didymus the Blind and a few other writers, such as Serapion and Macarius of Alexandria.

The second is the Palestinian group. St. Cyril of Jerusalem is its center: in the same group we may also place the historian Eusebius of Cæsarea, and the Bishop of Constantia, St. Epiphanius, who was born near Eleutheropolis.

Still further to the north, we find the group of the Antiochians: Eustathius of Antioch, Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. John Chrysostom. Except the first, they take, as bishops, but little part in the Trinitarian controversies, whereas great indeed is the importance of Diodorus and Theodore in the Christological controversies, which will arise during the following century.

Finally, the fourth group is that of the Cappadocians: St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and the Bishop of Iconium, Amphilochius.

This is the geographical grouping. But the mere fact that, in this division, the name of Eusebius is placed side by side with that of St. Epiphanius shows quite plainly that,

if we wish to take into account the intellectual and theological tendencies of these Fathers, we must of necessity adopt another classification. From the standpoint just mentioned, we notice first two schools, whose divergences are to increase more and more later on,—the school of Alexandria and that of Antioch. Athanasius (c. 295–373) represents the former only imperfectly. Although he pleads in behalf of Origen and Dionysius of Alexandria, and although the two treatises *Contra gentes* and *Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*, which he composed in his youth, betray Origen's influence, yet St. Athanasius is inclined, both by the natural tendency of his positive mind and by the demands of controversy, to take a theological attitude in which mere speculation has but little to do, but in which accuracy of thought and precision of words have a capital importance. This great controversialist is not, as has at times been affirmed, the slave, or even the indomitable champion, of a word; on the contrary, his is a very penetrating intelligence, which enables him to read ideas through the cover of words, and, in case of need, to handle men as successfully as ideas. Possessed of a mind more accurate than broad, the enemy of equivocation, armed with a direct and inflexible logic, he is above all an *individuality*; and this accounts for his great authority, and also for the deep veneration and the impassioned hatred centered in him.¹

¹ The writings of St. Athanasius are here quoted after the edition of MIGNE's *Greek Patrology*, vol. XXV–XXVIII. The reader may find in LOOFS, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*, 4th edit., p. 237, note 2, the chronology of the works of St. Athanasius. Loofs sets aside not only the writings that have been long since looked upon as unauthentic (for instance, the *Contra Apollinarium*), but also the *Oratio IV contra Arianos*, the *Sermo maior de fide*, the treatise on Matth. XI, 27, and the *Expositio fidei*.—Works: H. VOIGT, *Die Lehre des Athanasius von Alexandrien*, Bremen, 1861. L. ATZBERGER, *Die Logoslehre des hl. Athanasius*, München, 1880. A. PELL, *Die Lehre des hl. Athanasius von der Sünde und Erlösung*, Passau, 1889. H. STRAETER, *Die Erlo-sungslehre des hl. Athanasius*, Freiburg im Br., 1894. F. LAUCHERT,

The true continuator of Origen's work at Alexandria during the 4th century is Didymus the Blind (+ about 395).² His name is associated with that of his master in the condemnations passed by the sixth and seventh General Councils.³ On the other hand, we learn from St. Jerome⁴ that he composed on the *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* short commentaries, in which he strove to expound in an orthodox sense Origen's errors on the Trinity. Moreover St. Jerome quotes⁵ an answer from him to Rufinus, which proves that, like Origen, Didymus held that souls preëxisted, that they sinned in that state, and that their subsequent union with bodies was a punishment for that sin. However, it must be said that there can hardly be found even faint traces of these errors in the works of Didymus that have come down to us.⁶ What we do find and admire in them is rather his wonderful, somewhat redundant Biblical erudition. In the *De Trinitate* and the *De Spiritu Sancto*, text comes after text without interruption, as it were; and these are studied, at times indeed, with real depth, but often also with a resolutely self-confident dogmatism which makes him unceremoniously distort them in favor of his own views.

To the Alexandrians and their school we must add, first, Eusebius of Cæsarea (c. 265–340), who, together with Pamphilus, composed the *Defence of Origen*. Origen had

Die Lehre des hl. Athanasius des Grossen, Leipzig, 1895. A. STUELCKEN, *Athanasiana*, Leipzig, 1899. K. HOSS, *Studien über das Schrifttum und die Theologie des Athanasius*, Freiburg im Br., 1899. K. BORNHAEUSER, *Die Vergottungslehre des Athanasius und Johannes Damascenus*, Gütersloh, 1903. F. CAVALLERA, *Saint Athanase*, Paris, 1908.

² The writings of Didymus may be found in *P. G.*, vol. XXXIX.—Works: J. LEIPOLDT, *Didymus der Blinde von Alexandria*, Leipzig, 1905. G. BARDY, *Didyme l'Aveugle*, Paris, 1910.

³ MANSI, *Collectio Conciliorum*, XI, 632 and XIII, 377.

⁴ *Apologia adversus libros Rufini*, II, 16.

⁵ *Id.*, III, 28; cf. I, 6.

⁶ See *Enarratio in epist. S. Petri primam*, I, 1 (col. 1755); I, 12 (col. 1759); III, 22 (col. 1770).

spent a part of his life at Cæsarea, where he conducted a school, and the influence of his teaching, strengthened by the presence of the disciple of Pierius, Pamphilius, was always very great in Palestine, as was evidenced during the subsequent Origenistic controversies. Then, too, the immense learning of the great Alexandrian Doctor appealed naturally to the curiosity of Eusebius, whose mind, uncertain and timid on questions of theology, paid but little attention to the contradictions found in the writings of the master. His own works were chiefly in the department of history and apologetics, and in no dogmatic controversy did he feel at ease, except in the refutation of Marcellus of Ancyra.

With the Alexandrians we must also place the Cappadocians. St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzus have left to us the *Philocalia*, a collection of the best portions of Origen, and while they did not adopt his dangerous views, at least they imbibed his spirit and like him relied greatly on the part assigned to reason in the explanation and exposition of the truths of faith. Both had fed on Greek literature and philosophy, but St. Basil (c. 331-379), above all a man of rule and action and one whose mind was, moreover, the stronger and the more dogmatic of the two, did not feel, or at least did not betray, the influence of his former studies as much as St. Gregory of Nazianzus. That influence is more noticeable in the latter (c. 330-390), a man of a somewhat weak and inconstant character and a thinker of little originality, but the most eloquent of all theologians, who knows how to explain most luminously, for the benefit of the weakest intelligences, the loftiest mysteries of faith. As to St. Gregory of Nyssa (bishop in 371, + c. 395), he is, properly speaking, a philosopher and an Origenist. He can hardly take a step without discussion, and while he succeeds in avoiding the most serious errors of Origen, yet he

does fall into some of his errors, so that the blunders of the Bishop of Nyssa on two or three points can be neither denied nor extenuated. Against the Eunomians who quibbled unceasingly, he was the very opponent orthodoxy needed; but the harmonious equilibrium which existed in his brother Basil is lacking in him: eloquence becomes rhetoric, revelation is made subservient to philosophy, and excessive reasoning, far from clearing up the articles of faith, now and then obscures them.⁷

The Cappadocians are the middle term, as it were, between the school of Alexandria, with which, however, they are more closely connected, and that of Antioch. The latter holds that, in exegesis, the literal interpretation must be followed almost exclusively; in its Christological doctrine, it inclines to separate, in Jesus, the human from the divine element, and in its doctrine on grace, to uphold the spon-

⁷ The Cappadocians are quoted after the editions of the *P. G.*: St. Basil, vol. XXIX-XXXII; St. Gregory of Nazianzus, vol. XXXV-XXXVIII; St. Gregory of Nyssa, vol. XLIV-XLVI; Amphilochius, vol. XXX; as to this last, cf. also K. HOLL, *op. infra cit.*, who has edited a seventh homily.—Works: On St. Basil, W. KLOSE, *Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte, Basilus der Grosse nach seinem Leben und seine Lehre*, Stralsund, 1835. E. SCHOLL, *Die Lehre des hl. Basilus von der Gnade*, Freiburg im Br., 1881. A. KRANICH, *Der hl. Basilus in seiner Stellung zum Filioque*, Braunsberg, 1881. P. ALLARD, *Saint Basile*, Paris, 1899.—On St. Gregory of Nazianzus, A. BENOÎT, *Saint Grégoire de Naz., sa vie, ses œuvres et son époque*, 2d edit., Paris, 1885. C. ULLMANN, *Gregorius von Nazianz der Theologe*, 2d edit., Gotha, 1866. K. HUEMMER, *Des hl. Gregor von Nazianz des Theologen Lehre von der Gnade*, Kempten, 1890.—On St. Gregory of Nyssa, J. RUPP, *Gregors, des Bischofs von Nyssa, Leben und Meinungen*, Leipzig, 1834. A. KRAMPF, *Der Urzustand des Menschen nach der Lehre des hl. Gregor von Nyssa*, Würzburg, 1899. F. HILT, *Des hl. Gregor von Nyssa Lehre von Menschen*, Köln, 1890. F. DIEKAMP, *Die Gotteslehre des hl. Gregor von Nyssa*, Münster, 1896. W. VOLLERT, *Die Lehre Gregors von Nyssa vom Guten und Bösen*, Leipzig, 1897.—On Amphilochius, K. HOLL, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern*, Tübingen, 1904. L. SALTET, *La théologie d'Amphilochie*, in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, 1905, pp. 121-127. G. FICKER, *Amphilochiana*, 1st part, Leipzig, 1906.

taneity and autonomy of man's freewill in presence of the action of God. These tendencies may be already noticed in the work of Eustathius of Antioch (+ 337):⁸ they are fully displayed in the works of Diodorus of Tarsus (bishop c. 378, + c. 393) and chiefly in those of Theodore of Mop-suestia (bishop in 392, + 428).⁹ Nor are these tendencies altogether absent from the homilies of St. John Chrysostom (344-407), the disciple of Diodorus and friend of Theodore. Owing to the duties of his ministry as a preacher, and to the very practical character of his eloquence, the great orator fortunately kept clear of dogmatic speculations and even toned down the excesses found in the principles of his master and of his friend. St. Chrysostom is a homilist more than a theologian, a moralist more than a theorist: hence he holds in the history of dogmas a secondary place, — a place far below that which has been assigned to him in the history of Christian eloquence, by the admiration of his contemporaries, nay of all ages.¹⁰

⁸ Writings of Eustathius in *P. G.*, vol. XVIII.—Works: A. JAHN, *Des hl. Eustathios Erzbisch. v. Antioch. Beurtheilung des Origenes*, Leipzig, 1886. F. CAVALLERA, *S. Eustathii "In Lazarum, Mariam et Martham" homilia christologica*, Paris, 1905. L. SALTET, *Le schisme d'Antioche au IV^e siècle*, and *Une prétendue homélie d'Eustathe*, in the *Bulletin de littér. ecclésiastique*, 1906, pp. 120 and foll. and 212 and foll.

⁹ As these two authors are the real forerunners and founders of Nestorianism, the exposition of their Christology may be postponed to the forthcoming volume. Moreover Theodore belongs rather to the 5th century.

¹⁰ St. John Chrysostom is quoted here after the edition of the *P. G.*, vol. XLVII-LXIV. The reader will find later, p. 131, a synopsis of the writings I have quoted, and this synopsis will enable him to find them easily in MIGNE's *Patrology*.—Works: Th. FÖRSTER, *Chrysostomus in seinem Verhältniss zur antiochenischen Schule*, Gotha, 1869. F. H. CHASE, *Chrysostom, A Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation*, London, 1887. ELSER, *Der hl. Chrysostomus und die Philosophie*, in *Theolog. Quartalschrift*, vol. LXXVI, 1894. A. NAEGLE, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Joh. Chrysostomus*, Strassburg, 1900. P. GALTIER, *Saint Jean Chrysostome et la Confession*, in the *Recherches de Science religieuse*, I and II (1910, 1911).

St. Cyril of Jerusalem (ab. 315–386) and St. Epiphanius (bishop in 367, + 403) have not been mentioned in this second classification. If we had to assign a place to the former, we would put him of course close to the Cappadocians, in that middle position which is related both to Antioch and to Alexandria, though it is closer to Alexandria than to Antioch. But in his twenty-four catechetical discourses, which are his chief work, he had not the opportunity of fully developing his theological views. He believes in the doctrine of Nicæa, but how timidly! He is afraid of the *ὁμοούσιος* and avoids it on purpose in his catechetical discourses. Then, he abhors controversies, although he refutes with vigor the Manicheans and Marcellus of Ancyra. He delights chiefly in pious and instructive expositions that bear on easier subjects. It is for the mind a real repose to come across and peruse, after the many controversial works of the 4th century, these pages so calmly beautiful, written in a style which combines with sobriety and precision a great deal of suppleness and genuine emotion.¹¹

As to St. Epiphanius, he disclaims belonging to any school, and claims to be, simply and in the narrowest sense of the word, orthodox. However, this stand urges him to take vigorous action against all heresies and against all that he believes to be heresy, and makes him an indefatigable controversialist. He fights the Arians and the Apollinarians. First he upholds Paulinus against Meletius, and pursues with his arguments errors which he is almost the only one to mention; but he directs his chief blows against Origen, who, he thinks, has started all the heresies of the time.

¹¹ St. Cyril is quoted after the edition of the *P. G.*, vol. XXXIII.—Works: J. MADER, *Der hl. Cyrillus, Bischof von Jerusalem, in seinem Leben und seinem Schriften*, Einsiedeln, 1891. J. MARQUARDT, *S. Cyrilli hierosolymitani de contentiōibus et placitis arianorum sententia*, Braunsberg, 1881. Id., *S. Cyrillus hierosolym. baptismi, chrismatis, eucharistiae mysteriorum interpres*, Leipzig, 1882.

Too often he is carried away by his zeal, which leads him to excesses and mistakes of which he is unconscious. St. Epiphanius is not an original theologian; he would have been afraid to pose as such; most of the time, he aims merely at reproducing, in diffuse language and with endless dissertations, the views of Athanasius and of the Cappadocians. A churchman above all, he is bent on justifying all the customs of the Church, and contributes especially to further the ascetical tendencies that began then almost everywhere to embody themselves in monasticism. But even though St. Epiphanius is not an original thinker he is a learned writer, and for this reason, contributes in many ways to the history of Christian ideas during the 4th century. We may add that, owing to his relations with the West, he caused several Latin ideas or customs to be adopted in the Greek Church to which he belonged.¹²

These, then, are the chief Greek writers of the 4th century whose doctrine we are about to study; many others, however, will be mentioned: for a more complete description of their teaching, the reader may be referred to works of patrology.

§ 2. Teaching as to the Sources of Faith.

Although the ecclesiastical writers of the 4th century do not perfectly agree among themselves as to the canon of the Old and New Testaments, and although some exclude from the list of the sacred books several writings that are accepted by others,¹³ all look upon inspiration, wherever they allude to it, as an action of God speaking and expressing

¹² St. Epiphanius is quoted after the edition of the *P. G.*, vol. XLI-XLIII.—Works: B. EBERHARD, *Die Betheilung des Epiphanius an Streite über Origenes*, Trier, 1859. R. A. LIPSIIUS, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, Wien, 1865.

¹³ EUSEBIUS, *Hist. eccl.*, III, 25; TH. ZAHN, *Introduction to the New Testament* (English translation).

Himself through the sacred authors. The latter are *θεόπνευστοι, θεοφορούμενοι*; ¹⁴ their words are the words of the Holy Ghost Himself, *τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ῥήματα*.¹⁵

In what precisely does this inspiration consist? Theodore of Mopsuestia thinks that, when it reaches its highest degree, in the prophets for instance, it is a kind of ecstasy in which the prophet, while his senses are closed to the earth, receives within himself the spiritual impressions of things that are concealed or are still to come. The prophet designates these impressions by the words *to see, to hear*, as though external representations were placed before him, or sensible words said to him; however, the whole phenomenon takes place in his own mind.¹⁶ On the other hand, we know that Theodore ascribed Proverbs and perhaps also Ecclesiastes, to a lower inspiration, the *spirit of prudence*, quite distinct from the prophetic ecstasy.¹⁷ St. John Chrysostom, who has touched upon the same subject, seems at times to describe inspiration as a complete seizure of the faculties of the writer by the Holy Ghost — a seizure that would make him purely passive;¹⁸ however, this is not the view which he presents ordinarily. He puts between prophecy and pagan divination precisely this difference: whereas soothsayers and pythonesses are passive and beside themselves, prophets retain possession of themselves and know what they announce.¹⁹ He grants to the human author, in the composition of the sacred books, a share that accounts for the differences, and even for the divergences, which are noticed in these books. St. Chrysostom seems to

¹⁴ ATHAN., *Contra gentes*, I; BASIL., *In Hexaemer.*, VI, II; GREG. NYSS., *Contra Eunomium*, VII (P. G., XLV, 744).

¹⁵ CHRYSOST., *In Genesim*, hom. XV, I.

¹⁶ *In Nahum*, I, I (P. G., LXVI, 402); *In Abdiam*, I (*ibid.*, 407); *In Zachariam*, I, 9-12 (*ib.*, 507, 510).

¹⁷ P. G., LXVI, 697.

¹⁸ *In psalm.* XLIV, I.

¹⁹ *In I Corinth.*, hom. XXIX, I.

admit in theory that these divergences, although slight, may be real; in practice, he endeavors to show that they are merely apparent.²⁰

As regards the method of interpretation of Holy Writ, all our readers know that the school of Alexandria inclined to the method which admits on a large scale the spiritual, or even the purely allegorical, meaning, whereas the school of Antioch, as has been said already, upheld chiefly the literal and historical sense. During the 4th century, the school of Alexandria is represented especially by St. Gregory of Nyssa,²¹ that of Antioch, by St. Basil, who sets aside explicitly mere allegorism and symbolism,²² and especially by the Antiochians. From Eusebius we learn that Dorotheus, one of the early teachers of the exegetical school of Antioch, interpreted Holy Writ *μετρίως*, with measure.²³ Bishop Eustathius has left us, regarding the pythoiness, a short treatise of a most decided anti-allegorical character. Socrates says of Diodorus of Tarsus, that he applied himself exclusively to the letter of Holy Writ, taking no notice of its spiritual meaning: *ψιλῶ τῷ γράμματι τῶν θείων προσέχων γραφῶν, τὰς θεωρίας αὐτῶν ἐκτρεπόμενος*.²⁴ Theodore of Mopsuestia is also well known for his excessive literalism and as to St. John Chrysostom, while he is less exclusive than his friend, and, being an orator and a moralist, makes some use of allegory and of figurative application, yet declares that he much prefers, and he does actually follow, a more strict and less capricious exegetical method: *Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε ταυτὴν ἀτιμάζω τὴν ἐξηγησιν (the allegorical method) καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀληθεστέραν εἶναι φημι*.²⁵

²⁰ *In Matth.*, hom. I, 2.

²¹ *In cantica canticorum*, prooemium (*P. G.*, XLIV, 756, sqq.); *Contra Eunomium*, VII (*P. G.*, XLV, 744).

²² *In hexaemeron*, IX, 1.

²³ *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 32, 2, 3.

²⁴ *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 13.

²⁵ *In Isaiam*, cap. I, 22, n. 7; V, 7, n. 3.

However, in spite of these various tendencies, all our authors agree in looking upon Scripture as the first source of the teachings of faith. Nay, taking literally some of their utterances, it would seem as though they thought that the sacred books sufficed to teach us all that we must believe. "The sacred and inspired Scriptures are sufficient to declare the truth," says St. Athanasius;²⁶ more than any other writing, they are able to build up the faith, and therefore they must be read.²⁷ "Tarry not, I entreat, for another to teach thee; thou hast the oracles of God; no man teacheth thee as they,"²⁸ St. Chrysostom declares. St. Basil affirms that, as a matter of fact, Holy Writ must decide, when a choice between various customs and traditions is to be made.²⁹ The reason of these affirmations is given by St. Epiphanius: Scripture cannot err: Πάντα γὰρ ἀληθεύει ἡ θεία γραφή.³⁰ But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Greek Fathers of the 4th century exclude another source of religious information, which is more within the reach of the unlearned. These Fathers have a realization, more or less confused, of a development going on in the theology of the Church in their time.³¹ Dogmas — the dogma of the divinity of the Holy Ghost, for instance — are made clear; formulas — like the *ὁμοούσιος* — are adopted; ritual and liturgical usages, which Holy Writ does not mention at all, or at most teaches quite incompletely and obscurely, gradually spread and prevail; and yet, these dogmas, formulas and customs must be defended against opponents, and thus the authors of whom we are speaking are led to insist, more vigorously than has

²⁶ *Contra gentes*, 1.

²⁷ *Epist. ad episc. Ægypti et Libyæ*, 4; *De synodis*, 6; *De decretis*, 32.

²⁸ *In Coloss.*, hom. IX, 1.

²⁹ *Epist.* CLXXXIX, 3.

³⁰ *Ancoratus*, 13.

³¹ See the most explicit passage of ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Orat.* XXXI, 26, 27.

been done before, on a teaching, an oral tradition, distinct from Scripture and handed down to us from the time of the Apostles. This is the *παράδοσις ἄγραφος τῶν ἀποστόλων, τῶν πατέρων*, of which the Apostles and their successors have made use, in order to transmit to us what they have not consigned to Scripture. St. Chrysostom mentions it;³² likewise St. Epiphanius,³³ and the Cappadocians.³⁴ This oral tradition brings us the truth just as safely as Holy Writ itself does. The heretics who reject it are wrong;³⁵ this tradition is *ἀξιόπιστος*, St. Chrysostom affirms: *παράδοσις ἐστι, μηδὲν πλέον ζήτει*;³⁶ and St. Gregory of Nyssa: "It is enough for proof of our statement, that the tradition has come down to us from our fathers, handed on, like an inheritance, by succession, from the Apostles and the saints who came after them."³⁷

This oral tradition is not identified by the Greek Fathers of the 4th century with the ordinary *magisterium* of the Church. However, there is already in St. Epiphanius a concept which will practically lead the minds of Christians to that identification. Heretics, he observes, have not received and do not preserve that tradition; the Church alone has received it and hands it down. From this he concludes that the decisions and teaching of the Church suffice to establish the truth.³⁸ While it is true that not all the Greek Fathers of that age bring forward this reasoning, it is true also that all admit at least its conclusion. The right of the

³² *In acta apostolor.*, hom. I, 1; *In II Thessalon.*, hom. IV, 2; cf. *In epist. ad Philipp.*, hom. III, 4.

³³ *Haer.* LXI, 6; LXXV, 8.

³⁴ BASIL., *Epist.* CCXLIII, 2; *De Spiritu Sancto*, 16, 22, 25, 66, 67, 71, 77. GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XXXI, 12; GREG. NYSS., *Contra Eunomium*, IV, col. 653.

³⁵ BASIL., *De Spiritu Sancto*, 25, 66, 67, 71.

³⁶ *In II Thessalon.*, hom. IV, 2.

³⁷ *Contra Eunomium*, IV, col. 653.

³⁸ *Haer.* LXI, 6; *Ancoratus*, 63.

Church to settle controversies, to condemn error, to determine the faith, and her infallibility in the exercise of that right — these are, for the Fathers, plain and unquestionable principles; and whoever supposes that these principles were not admitted then by most of the bishops cannot at all account for the history of the controversies and councils of the 4th century. St. Cyril of Jerusalem insists that we must receive from the Church herself the canon of the Scriptures,³⁹ and he adds that, as many Christians cannot, through the lack of learning or of leisure, study the Scripture and thus appropriate its teaching, the Church has summed up that teaching in a symbol of faith, which must be religiously held and preserved, for she teaches faultlessly (*ἀνελλιπῶς, sine defectu*) “the doctrines which ought to come to men’s knowledge.”⁴⁰ St. Chrysostom speaks, essentially in the same manner, of that infallibility,⁴¹ and as for St. Epiphanius, it is in truly lyric accents that he praises the beauties of that Church, the only spouse of the Son of God, virgin, holy, spotless, who has kept in all its purity (*ἀχράντως*) the teaching of the Apostles by her truth and has preserved faith, hope and salvation. She is the sovereign authority, whose ancient belief suffices to determine what we must believe: Οὕτω γὰρ δοξάζει ἡ ἁγία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν.⁴²

There was no difficulty, then, about the principles themselves. The difficulties began when Christians came to ask themselves through what organs — outside the received symbols — that faith of the Church was expressed, and, particularly, what authority was to be attributed to Councils. The distinction between general and local Councils had not

³⁹ *Catech.* IV, 33.

⁴⁰ *Catech.* V, 12; XVIII, 23.

⁴¹ *In Epist.* I *ad Timoth.*, hom. XI, 1.

⁴² *Ancor.*, 63, 82, 118, 119; *Expositio fidei cathol.*, 2, 6, 7; *Haer.* XXXI, 33.

yet been made in the East, or at least, if the word ecumenical was known, the conditions necessary and sufficient for a Council to be truly ecumenical had not yet been explicitly determined. To come to particulars, there is no proof that Pope Sylvester was consulted about the convocation of the Council of Nicæa; nay, the Pope was not even called to the Council of Constantinople, in the year 381. The number, and in particular, the personal worth of the bishops who were present, settled the authority of Councils, and if the Council of Nicæa came soon to be acknowledged by all as supremely authoritative, this was due to the sanctity and learning of its members, to the great number of the bishops who attended its sessions, and also to the presence of the Emperor, who sanctioned its decrees. Nay, St. Basil goes so far as to say that the three hundred and eighteen Fathers "did not speak without the prompting of the Holy Ghost":⁴³ a strong expression indeed, which, however, does not clear up the problem. As to the authority of the teachers or bishops taken individually, special attention is paid to it in the discussions, and we see, in the Arian and Macedonian controversies, St. Athanasius and St. Basil invoking the testimony of Origen and of his successors. It was not till the following century, however, that the argument drawn from the *Fathers* assumed all its value and was definitively received.

It still remains for us to examine the attitude of the Fathers of the 4th century towards philosophy, and the part they ascribed to this science in the exposition and explanation of the articles of faith. First, from the fact that words such as *οὐσία*, *ὑπόστασις*, *φύσις*, etc., which entered into theological formulas, came from philosophy, we must not conclude immediately that the part played by the latter was very great. These words came from philosophy, no doubt;

⁴³ *Epist.* CXIV.

but, after all, they were already a part of the domain common to all cultivated minds, and, when using them, the Fathers did not give them any other meaning than the one generally assigned to them, nor did they intend, in any way, to sanction the philosophical theories with which these words were associated. On the other hand, it is beyond question that the treatises composed by St. Athanasius in his youth, and by the Cappadocians, indicate a real desire of presenting the Christian faith as a doctrine which is self-consistent, as a doctrine which, while surpassing the demands of reason, yet does not contradict it, but has its reasonable side. St. Chrysostom also takes up the same task, so as to show especially how that faith satisfies the cravings of the heart. We grant that this is philosophy; but it is a philosophy which, while not starting from this or that system, becomes identical with the endeavors made by reason to understand better and probe more deeply the principles of faith. Philosophy strictly so called,—formal metaphysics and dialectics,—is found only in St. Basil's treatise against Eunomius,⁴⁴ and in the works of St. Gregory of Nyssa, who often makes an excessive use of it. Precisely because the Arians, Anomœans and Manicheans were constantly appealing to philosophy, the orthodox placed no trust in it, and St. Gregory of Nazianzus went so far as to say that its introduction into the Church could be compared to a plague of Egypt.⁴⁵ On the other hand, in order to refute these heretics, the Fathers had to follow them on their own ground, and to answer their arguments by means of similar arguments. This is what they did at times, even though they never intended thus to formulate a metaphysical exposition or a methodology of their religious beliefs.

⁴⁴ St. Basil wrote also a *Sermo de legendis libris gentilium* (P. G., XXXI, 564, sqq.), in which he recommends the reading of Homer and of some philosophers.

⁴⁵ *Orat.* XXXII, 25.

CHAPTER II

THE TRINITARIAN HERESIES DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY — DEFINITION OF THE CONSUBSTANTIALITY OF THE SON AND OF THE HOLY GHOST

§ 1. The Teaching of Arius.¹

THE Greek theology of the 4th century, whose principles, sources and methods have just been briefly exposed, engaged in battle with heresy, during the first quarter of that century, on an essential point of Christian dogma — the genuine and full divinity of the Word, and therefore of Jesus.

Up to that time, it is true, the Church had several times affirmed, against the Adoptionists, her belief in the divinity of Jesus. On the other hand, however, a system, which we

¹ The special *sources* for the exposition of the doctrine of Arius will be given later. It must be noticed, however, that a detailed narrative of the history of Arianism is not within the scope of this book. About this heresy, the reader may consult the ancient historians of the Church: — Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Gelasius of Cyzicus, St. Epiphanius, Philostorgius, Sulpitius Severus; then, the writers who lived at the time of Arianism and combated it: — St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, the Cappadocians, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose.— The *works* on the subject are very numerous. The notices of the Benedictine editions and the researches of Tillemont must be consulted, because they constitute a very solid basis for further studies. Among the more recent works, we may mention: J. H. NEWMAN, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, 4th edit., London, 1876. W. KÖLLING, *Geschichte der arianischen Haeresie*, Gütersloh, 1874–1883. H. M. GWATKIN, *Studies of Arianism*, Cambridge, 1882, 2d edit., 1900. ID., *The Arian Controversy*, London, 1889, 4th edit., 1898. P. SNELLMAN, *Der Anfang der arianischen Streites*, Helsingfors, 1904. L. DUCHESNE, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, vol. II, Paris, 1907 (English transl.). S. ROGALA, *Die Anfänge des arianischen Streites untersucht*, Paderborn, 1907.

can trace from St. Justin and the Apologists down to Origen and Lactantius, taught, together with the divinity of the Son, His subordination, as God, to the Father. The Son is God, truly God, and yet He is inferior to the Father. These two propositions, when taken absolutely, are contradictory. If the Son is truly and essentially God, He is the Supreme Being, and is therefore inferior to nothing and to no one; if He is truly inferior to the Father, He is no longer the Supreme Being, He is God no longer. Yet, the Subordinationist school held that the two propositions should be maintained together and at the same time; otherwise, the divine monarchy would be jeopardized and several first principles introduced into the world. But Arianism was about to force theologians to look at things more closely and to decide once for all between the absolute and complete divinity of the Son and His consubstantiality on the one hand, and His essential subordination or creation, on the other. Arius and the Arians strictly so called were to declare in favor of the creation of the Son, whereas Athanasius and the Nicæans were to uphold His consubstantiality. However, between these two extreme and self-consistent parties, would arise a large group of bishops fond of repose and of conservatism in the worst sense of the term, and of timid bishops learned rather than thoughtful or prudent — all these, I say, were to prefer to stick to confused ideas, and refuse to accept either the doctrine of the consubstantiality or Arianism. They would make up the large army of the Eusebians, Homœans, Homoiousians, Semi-Arians, whatever their designation may be. These three parties were to oppose one another, and this conflict was to last, in the East, for two-thirds of the 4th century, from the year 318 to the year 382 or 383.

According to St. Epiphanius,² Arianism had Origen and

² *Haer.* LXXVI, 3.

Lucian of Antioch for its prime movers. This assertion is scarcely true so far as Origen is concerned; but it is true of Lucian. Lucian,³ who was born, perhaps, at Samosata and received his education at Edessa, was, about the year 260, the companion of the Bishop of Antioch, Paul of Samosata, who, as our readers know, was condemned for heterodoxy in the year 267 or 268; and during the discussions which arose in connection with the Bishop's trial, Lucian seems to have been suspected of holding the same erroneous views. At any rate, it is beyond question that he was under the ban of excommunication during the episcopate of the three bishops who succeeded Paul,—Domnus, Timæus and Cyril, spending his time in the study of Biblical criticism and exegesis. Under the episcopate of Tyrannus, he became reconciled to the Church. He died a martyr in the year 312, during Diocletian's persecution, and was thenceforth honored as a Saint.

We have but few remains of the works of Lucian.⁴ The Eusebian Council held at Antioch in the year 341 ascribed to him a symbol the text of which has been preserved by St. Athanasius,⁵ and which betrays an intentional lack of dogmatic precision; but its authenticity is very doubtful. Nevertheless, it remains certain that truly, though not altogether consciously, Lucian was the father of Arianism. The early and most conspicuous Arians—most of whom had been his disciples—appeal to his name. When writing to Eusebius of Nicomedia, Arius calls his correspondent his

³ Special sources: SUIDAS, at the word *Lucianus*. EUSEB., *Hist. eccl.*, VIII, 13, 2; IX, 6, 3. A letter of Alexander of Alexandria, in THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 3. ST. EPIPHAN., *Haer.* XLIII, 1; LXIX, 6; LXXVI, 3; *Ancoratus*, 33.

⁴ All these remains are gathered in ROUTH, *Reliquiae sacrae*, 2d edit., IV, 1-17.

⁵ *De synodis*, 23; SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 10.

dear *co-Lucianist* (συλλουκιανιστά),⁶ and Philostorgius has left us information that leaves no doubt as to the close relation between Lucian and Arianism.⁷

The particulars of Lucian's teaching are unknown, it is true; but, if he favored Adoptionism more or less openly, it is easy to understand how, by combining with that theory the concept of a personal *logos*, inferior to God and living in Jesus, his disciples would fall gradually into Arianism.

The man who was to give his name to this last heresy was born in Libya, perhaps at Alexandria, about the year 256, and after becoming a priest, had been given by Bishop Alexander the direction of the Church of Baucalis, where we find him in the year 313. Serious in conduct, imposing in manners, polite and attractive in conversation, gifted with a brilliant and supple intelligence, though vain and stubborn, excellently trained in Aristotelian dialectics and syllogistic intricacies, Arius had all that was needed to win over to his side both the learned and the unlearned. How far he succeeded we shall see presently.

Historians do not agree concerning the circumstance that gave him the opportunity to give forth his intimate thoughts. From Socrates we learn that the Bishop of Alexandria, Alexander, used now and then to gather in his house the clergy of the city, and to give them doctrinal and disciplinary directions. In one of these meetings, held about the year 318, as Alexander had spoken of the trinity of the divine Persons and of the unity which exists among them, Arius thought that these words smacked of Sabellianism, and he flatly contradicted the Bishop, adding, besides, that the Son had not always existed and had been drawn from nothing.⁸ Other historians have left on the same subject a somewhat different narrative.⁹ At any rate, the Church

⁶ ST. EPIPHAN., *Haer.* LXIX, 6; cf. LXXVI, 3.

⁷ *Hist. eccl.*, II, 14, 15; III, 15.

⁸ SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 5.

⁹ SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 15; THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 1; ST. EPIPHAN., *Haer.*, LXIX, 3.

authorities first thought that they could hush up the affair and bring back Arius by gentle means; but their efforts were of no avail. Arius thought far more of winning followers to his cause than of retracing his steps. In fact, he won over two bishops, Theonas and Secundus, and some deacons. He was first excommunicated in a Council of a hundred Egyptian and Libyan bishops, who assembled at Alexandria in the year 320 or 321. However, he was still able to hold his ground for a while in the city and to continue to exercise his priestly functions; but, after another meeting of the Alexandrian and the Mareotic clergy, in which Alexander had those who were present sign his *Epistula encyclica*, Arius had to go into exile. During the time of his retreat, first in Palestine and then at Nicomedia, he composed his *Thalia* and several popular songs for the purpose of spreading his errors. Disputes on the questions that had been raised began now to arise almost everywhere in the East. On one hand, Alexander did not leave the complaints which Arius was spreading against him unanswered, and sent to the bishops as a body, and perhaps especially to the bishops of Thrace, his *Epistula ad Alexandrum constantinopolitanum*, in which he stated with accuracy the real facts of the case. On the other hand, we are told by Socrates,¹⁰ that a synod was held about that time (322-324) which sustained and took the position of Arius. The confusion was daily on the increase. Constantine, who had just triumphed over Licinius (323), anxious to restore peace in the Church as he had done in the state, first thought that some agreement between the two parties might be reached by means of mutual concessions. To this end, he wrote to Alexander a letter which Eusebius has preserved.¹¹ Its tenor shows plainly that the Emperor did not at all realise the gravity

¹⁰ *Hist. eccl.*, I. 15.

¹¹ *Vita Constantini*, II, 64-72; cf. SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 7.

of the problem. The letter was carried by Hosius of Cordova, who had, moreover, been authorized to act as mediator. Hosius did not succeed in bringing Alexander to the views of Constantine; nay, it may be that even then, the two bishops had determined to condemn Arius. As the disturbance was still increasing, Constantine decided, probably on the advice of Hosius, to convoke a general Council — that of Nicæa.

Before taking up the history of the Council, we shall strive to state with precision (1) what the doctrine of Arius was, and (2) what doctrine Bishop Alexander opposed to it.

We are well informed at least as regards the great outlines of the system of Arius; for, on this point, sources are not wanting, and although the heresiarch has left no formal exposition of his views, his affirmations — or his negations — are sufficiently distinct, and his concepts sufficiently connected to enable us to grasp with ease their logical sequence.¹² The following exposition is based exclusively on what remains of his works.

There is but one God: He alone is unbegotten, eternal, without beginning, truly God. This absolute God cannot

¹² The chief sources on the doctrine of Arius are: (1) The writings of Arius: (a) his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, preserved by St. EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.* LXIX, 6, and by THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 4; (b) his letter to Alexander of Alexandria, preserved by St. ATHANASIUS, *De synodis*, 16, and by St. EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.* LXIX, 7, 8; (c) the fragments of the Thalia, preserved by St. ATHANASIUS, *Contra Arianos*, *Orat.* I, 5, 6, 9; *De synodis*, 15; (d) the profession of faith presented by Arius to Constantine, preserved by SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.* I, 26, and SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 27; (e) finally, the quotations of passages of his writings, by St. ATHANASIUS, *Epist. encycl. ad episcop. Ægypti*, 12, and *De sententia Dionysii*, 23.— (2) The expositions of Arius' doctrine, given by his early opponents, particularly by St. ALEXANDER, *Epistula encyclica*, 3, quoted by SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 6, St. ATHANASIUS and others.— (3) The historical data supplied by the historians Socrates, Sozomen, St. Epiphanius, Philostorgius and others.

communicate His being, His substance, both because such a communication or generation would imply that He is made up of parts, divisible, mutable, in one word, a body, which He is not, and because a God who had been begotten, *i. e.*, produced through communication of substance, would imply a contradiction in terms, God being by definition ἀγέννητος. Hence we must reject absolutely the expressions which imply this communication or generation, such as προβολή, μέρος ὁμοούσιον, λύχρον ἀπὸ λύχρου. All that is outside the only God, has been created *ex nihilo*, by the will of God.¹³

This God resolved to create the world. For this purpose, He created first a superior being, which we call the Word, destined to be the instrument of creation.¹⁴ The Word holds a middle place between God and the world. Although He is not God, yet He is no part of the world-system: He is before creatures properly so called, before time and before all ages (ἀχρόνως, πρὸ αἰώνων), for these begin with the world only, and, like it, they have the Word for their immediate author. But the Word is not eternal (αἰδῖος ἢ συναἰδῖος), for He has not always existed: there was a moment — not of time — but of *duration*, when He was not; He passed from not being to being: ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γένηται, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κτίζεσθαι ἔσχε καὶ αὐτός.¹⁵

The Word is then truly created (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γέγονε): He is not of the substance of God, but exists by the will of God.¹⁶ Arius uses, it is true, the expression γεννήσαντα, ἐγέννησεν, γεννηθείς, to designate the operation which brings

¹³ *Epist. ad Alexandrum (De synodis, 16).*

¹⁴ *Thalia (C. arianos, Or. I, 5).* The Arian sophist Asterius tried to justify this previous creation of the Word, by the consideration, that the world would not have been able to bear the weight of God's direct action: μὴ ἐδύνατο τὰ λοιπὰ κτίσματα τῆς ἀκράτου χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγεννήτου ἐργασίαν βαστάξαι (ATHANASIUS, *De decretis*, 8).

¹⁵ *Thalia (C. arianos, Or. I, 5); Epist. ad Alex. (De synodis, 16); cf. Epist. ad Euseb. (EPIPHANIUS, Haer. LXIX, 6).*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

the Word into existence; but we must bear in mind first that the word γεννητός had not, as yet, the exclusive meaning which it received later and that it was often used for the word γένητος,¹⁷ and then, that Arius leaves no doubt as to the way in which he understands it. Thus the Word is not the natural, but only the adopted (κατὰ χάριν) Son of God, who adopted Him foreseeing His merits. He is not truly God (θεὸς ἀληθινός), but only in the sense in which Scripture gives this name to the just, for He is altogether foreign and unlike to the substance and person of the Father (ἀλλότριος μὲν καὶ ἀνόμοιος κατὰ πάντα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας καὶ ιδιότητος).¹⁸ Although He is called Word and Wisdom, He possesses these attributes only in as much as He shares in the uncreated wisdom and reason of God. Considered in Himself, He is one of the many created powers used by God, a secondary cause like the locusts and grasshoppers, for instance, instruments of the divine will.¹⁹

The consequences of these premises are very plain. Since He is a creature, the Word is subject to God: He knows God and knows Himself, only imperfectly; by nature He is mutable and liable to fall (τρεπτός).²⁰ In his letter to Alexander,²¹ Arius seems, it is true, to affirm the moral immutability of the Word; but it is easy to see, from other passages, that he refers only to an impeccability *de facto*, due to the effort of His freewill. God has foreseen that righteousness of His will, and in this sense only, can we say that He has made the Word unchangeable and impeccable.²²

¹⁷ On this question, see HARNACK, *Lehrb. der DG.* (4th Germ. edit.) II, p. 196, note 3, and *History of Dogma* (English transl. from the 3d Germ. edit.), vol. IV, p. 12, note 6, and PETAU, *De Trinitate*, lib. V, cap. I; cf. ATHANASIUS, *De synodis*, 46.

¹⁸ *Thalia* (*De synodis*, 15; *C. arianos*, Or. I, 5, 6).

¹⁹ *Thalia* (*C. arianos*, Or. I, 5).

²⁰ *Epist. ad Alexandr.* (*De synodis*, 16); *Thalia* (*De synodis*, 15; *C. arianos*, Or. I, 5, 6).

²¹ *De synodis*, 16.

²² *Epist. ad Alexandr.* (*De synodis*, 16); *Epist. ad Eusebium*.

Although He is a creature, the Word is unlike other creatures: He is a perfect creature (κτίσμα τοῦ θεοῦ τέλειον); God can indeed produce a creature that equals the Logos, but none that surpasses Him. Then too, the Logos has always grown in grace and merit; He has become gradually more and more perfect, and thus made Himself worthy of the glory and worship, nay, of the very name of God, which the Father and the Church have ascribed to Him.²³

As to the action of the Word *ad extra*, it consisted, as has been said already, in His being the immediate author of creation. Besides, the Word was also the agent of redemption. For this purpose, He became incarnate. Lucian of Antioch, thus anticipating Apollinaris, had already taught that the Word had assumed a body without a soul (ἄψυχον).²⁴ From the fragments of the works of Arius that are still extant, we learn nothing regarding this particular point, but we know from other sources that this was also his teaching.²⁵ This was assuredly the teaching of his sect and of the Anomœans who came later.²⁶ Moreover, this teaching agreed well with the system of Arius taken as a whole, and served as its basis; for, if the Word is in Himself liable to suffer and to change, He can, in a body, take the place and

²³ *Epist. ad Alexandr. (De synodis, 16); Thalia (De synodis, 15; C. arianos, Or. I, 5); Epist. ad Euseb.*

²⁴ EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus*, 33.

²⁵ *Contra Apollinarium*, II, 3; THEODORET, *Haeret. fabul.*, V, 11; a fragment ascribed to St. Athanasius, *P. G.*, XXVI, 1292.

²⁶ EUSTATHIUS OF ANTIOCH (*P. G.*, XVIII, 689); *Contra Apollinar.*, I, 15; EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.* LXIX, 19; GREG. NAZ., *Epist.* CI. In the *Exposition of faith* which he presented to Theodosius in the year 383 (SOCRATES, *H. E.*, VII, 12), and which Valois has reproduced in his notes on Socrates, V, 10 (*P. G.*, LXVII, 589), Eunomius affirms however—perhaps by way of recanting—that Jesus Christ assumed a humanity made up of body and soul (ψυχή, not νοῦς). On the other hand, the symbol of Eudoxius of Constantinople is explicit: σαρκoθέντα, οὐκ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, οὔτε γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνέληφεν [ὁ λόγος] (CASPARI, *Quellen*, IV, p. 176 and foll. Cf. HARNACK, *Lehrb. der DG.*, II, p. 321, note 3, and *History of Dogma*, vol. IV, p. 148, note 2).

fulfil the function of the soul, and thus the emotions and infirmities, referred by Scripture to the humanity of Jesus, may be ascribed to Him.

As regards the Holy Ghost, what remain of the works of Arius lack explicitness. He grants that the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit, together with the Father and the Son, forms a trinity; but, according to him, the Holy Ghost is infinitely distant and separated from the two other Persons; His essence is *not* their essence; He possesses neither the same substance nor the same glory.²⁷ Arius made Him probably a creature of the Son. However, this point of his doctrine remained rather obscure, till it was clearly brought out by the Macedonian heresy.

These, then, were the chief features of the system of Arius. It rested altogether on the idea that God is absolutely transcendent, one and unable to communicate Himself otherwise than by way of creation. From a philosophical point of view, Arius and his followers were related to Aristotle and reproduced his dialectics and methods.²⁸ Moreover, they endeavored to base their errors on the Bible, by bringing forward the texts which ascribe to Jesus, or to the Son, a sort of inferiority, passions and infirmities, and ignorance of certain things.²⁹ They understood of the Word all these texts and saw in them proofs of His being a creature.

The reader will notice that the doctrine of Arius was, as it were, complete from the beginning, and did not develop. The Anomœans, who later on brought forward

²⁷ *Thalia* (C. arian., Or. I, 6; *De synod.*, 15).

²⁸ EPIPHANIUS, *Hacr.* LXIX, 69; LXXVI, 2. GREG. NYSS., *Contra Eunomium*, I (P. G., XLV, 265); PHILOSTORG., *H. E.*, III, 5.

²⁹ Didymus the Blind has devoted to the discussion of these texts the third book of the *De trinitate*. They may be found enumerated in J. TURMEL, *Histoire de la théologie positive*, I, Paris, 1904, p. 27, and more completely in BETHUNE-BAKER, *An Introduction to the early History of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 161, 162, text and note.

more arguments in its behalf, did not amplify it, strictly speaking. After the Council of Nicæa, the Eusebians modified it, but only with the result of diluting it. As to those who accepted it from the first,—for instance Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Athanasius of Anazarbus, George, a priest of Alexandria, Asterius of Cappadocia,—several quotations made by St. Athanasius³⁰ show that they held this doctrine, such as it had been propounded by Arius; unless we except the Bishop of Cæsarea, whose views seem to have been more unsettled.

What doctrine did the Patriarch of Alexandria, Alexander, oppose to this teaching? This question, of course, must be answered, if we wish to know exactly what Greek orthodoxy thought at this precise period (320-325) of the question in dispute. Now, we obtain much information regarding the mind of Alexander from the two letters we have mentioned above. One is the *Epistula encyclica*, preserved by Socrates (*H.E.*, I, 6); the other, whose inscription *Epistula ad Alexandrum constantinopolitanum* is open to doubt, is also probably an encyclical letter: it is given by Theodoret (*H.E.*, I, 3).³¹ In these two documents the Patriarch shows that he fully realizes the importance of the Arian crisis and the danger to which it exposes the very essence of Christianity. On the other hand, he hardly enters into discussion: he teaches and decides, and declares that we are forbidden to try to explain these mysteries.

The *Epistula encyclica* is the shorter. After a good summary of the errors of Arius (3), the Patriarch affirms, on the authority of Scripture, the eternity of the Son, His non-creation, His resemblance to the Father in substance, and His immutability (4). Were not the Son eternal, he adds,

³⁰ *De synodis*, 17-19.

³¹ Both are printed separately in *P. G.*, XVIII, 572 and foll., 548 and foll.

the Father would have been for a while ἄλογος καὶ ἄσοφος, which cannot be conceived. The Son is an intimate and essential element of the being of the Father. We read in No. 5 that the Son knows perfectly the Father: *Sicut novit me Pater et ego agnosco Patrem* (John, X, 15).

The *Epistula ad Alexandrum* is more complete. It sets forth a formal refutation of Arianism and a precise summary of Alexander's doctrine. This doctrine is as follows:

The Son is not *ex nihilo*; His nature is not that of the things that are made and created (4). He always was: οὐτε ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν (4, 6): the Father has always been Father; to suppose that He has not always had with Him His Son, who is His splendor and His image is to do away with the Father (7). He and the Son are inseparable (ἀλλήλων ἀχώριστα πράγματα δύο): not even in our minds can we imagine any interval between them (4). The Son is immutable and perfect from the beginning; He cannot progress or become better; still less can He fail and die (7); for He is son not by adoption, but by nature (8); He is the perfect image of the Father (ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκόν). Whoever honors the Son, honors also the Father, and *vice versa*.

However, although they are closely united, the Father and the Son are distinct: the Father alone is unbegotten, ἀγέννητος; the Son is *not* unbegotten (4). From this the Arians infer that the Son is a creature; but they are mistaken. Between the unbegotten Father and the creatures, there is the nature of the One Son, begotten of the being of the Father; and by means of this nature of the Son, He brings the universe from nothing into existence: ὡς μεσιτεύουσα φύσις μονογενῆς δι' ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησεν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου, ἡ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντος πατρὸς γεγέννηται (11). This is all that can be said; as to the understanding and explanation of this mystery, we must give it up (5).

In No. 12, Alexander gives a symbol of faith, probably

that of his Church, explained and developed. In it he insists upon the distinction between the Father and the Son. When we use the words ἦν, αἰεί, πρὸ αἰώνων, to designate the existence of the Son, he says, we do not mean to say that He is ἀγέννητος: He is not unbegotten, and it is in this, and only in this, that He is inferior to the Father: μόνῳ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ λειπομένον ἐκείνου. We must safeguard and affirm the Father's special dignity (οἰκεῖον ἀξίωμα): He has no beginning and is not produced; but we must also render to the Son the honor which is His due (τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν τιμὴν).

The symbol concludes with a profession of belief in the Holy Ghost who inspired the Prophets and the Apostles, in the Church, the resurrection of the dead, the incarnation of Jesus Christ ἐκ τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας, and the chief events of His life, His death and His triumph (12).

In spite of what has been said by some to the contrary, this exposition of the Christian faith in respect to the question raised by Arius, is lacking neither in precision nor in vigor.³² Alexander is very explicit concerning the non-creation of the Son, His eternity and divinity, and these points were, after all, the whole subject of the dispute. Besides, he points out most accurately why and to what extent the Son can be said to be inferior to the Father (μόνῳ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ). The ὁμοούσιος, it is true, does not appear as yet; but the ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας is found almost literally in the formula ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντος πατρός. We grant that the mystery is not explained; but it is stated accurately and presented in its great outlines, and this certainly deserves a great deal of praise.

³² HARNACK, *Lehrb. der DG.*, II, 207, and *History of Dogma*, vol. IV, pp. 24, 25.

§ 2. The Council of Nicæa.³³

The Council was convoked by Constantine ³⁴ at Nicæa, in Bithynia. About three hundred and eighteen bishops,³⁵ most of them Orientals, assembled there. The only Occidentals were Hosius of Cordova, the two priests Vitus and Vincent, who represented Pope Sylvester, Cæcilian of Carthage, Marcus of Calabria and Domnus of Strido. Next to the two Patriarchs, Alexander of Alexandria and Eustathius of Antioch, the most conspicuous bishops were the metropolitan of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Leontius, and the two Eusebius — one, from Nicomedia, and the other, from Cæsarea in Palestine. Athanasius, then a deacon, had accompanied his bishop, Alexander.

The Council opened probably about the middle of June and closed in the middle of July of the year 325. It is not likely that official reports of the sessions were made, so that it is now quite difficult to follow the progress of the discussions with anything like exactness. All that we can do is to give a general and brief outline of the Council.

Preliminary conferences preceded, it seems, the first ses-

³³ Sources: Chiefly the creed, canons and synodal decree of the Council. Then ST. ATHANASIUS, especially *De decretis Nicænæ synodi* (ab. 351) and *Epistula ad Afros* (ab. 369); EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*; SOCRATES, SOZOMEN, THEODORET, RUFINUS, in their ecclesiastical histories, and GELASIUS OF CYZICUS, in his *History of the Council of Nicæa*.—WORKS: The same as those on Arianism in general, and HEFELE, *Histoire des conciles*, 2d edit., French transl., vol. I, 1, and *History of the Church Councils*, vol. I.

³⁴ In its eighteenth session (MANSI, *Collectio concil.*, vol. XI, col. 661), the sixth general Council of Constantinople (680) affirmed that the Council of Nicæa was convoked by Constantine and Pope Sylvester acting together. This testimony comes rather late. The expressions of Rufinus (*ex sacerdotum sententia*, *H. E.*, I, 1) and of Sulpitius Severus (*Hist. sacra*, II, 55) would rather indicate that Constantine gave heed to the counsel of Hosius or Eusebius of Nicomedia, for instance.

³⁵ This number, which soon became traditional, is only approximate. See EUSEB., *Vita Constant.*, III, 8; ATHANAS., *Historia arianorum*, 66; *Apologia contra arianos*, 23, 25; *De synodis*, 43; *De decretis*, 3.

sions of the assembly. In these previous proceedings, the followers of Arius — seventeen in all, according to Rufinus — did not hesitate to declare their views.³⁶ Then the Council was solemnly opened by Constantine. It was probably presided over by Hosius, assisted by the two priests Vitus and Vincent. At any rate, after the debates began and as the discussion between the Arians and the Orthodox gradually became more and more intense, there soon arose a middle party, to which Athanasius gives the name of Eusebians (*οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον*), which strove to save Arianism by smoothing over its formulas, and especially by refraining from dogmatic declarations that would have been too positive and explicit. The leader of this party was Eusebius of Nicomedia, one of the most intelligent and skilful, but also one of the most ambitious and unscrupulous prelates of his time. Eusebius of Cæsarea belonged to the same party; but his attitude was more cautious. A first symbol was proposed by the Bishop of Nicomedia.³⁷ It was rejected as being too favorable to the Arians. Another, which was perhaps the baptismal creed of the Church of Cæsarea, was proposed by its Bishop, Eusebius.³⁸ The Word was declared to be “God of God, light of light, life of life, the only Son, the first born of every creature, begotten of the Father before all ages, by whom all things were made.” This formula would not have settled the controversy. However, we learn from Eusebius that Constantine would have been satisfied with it, had the word *ὁμοούσιος* been added to it. But the Orthodox were more exacting. While accepting the symbol of Eusebius, they insisted on

³⁶ *Historia eccles.*, I, 5; cf. SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 8.

³⁷ THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 7, combined with St. AMBROSE, *De fide*, III, 7. The order of the following events is more or less hypothetical: it is impossible to reconstruct the exact sequence of the discussion.

³⁸ The tenor of this symbol may be found in the letter of Eusebius to his Church (SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 8) and in THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, I, II. HAHN, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 3d edit., § 188.

defining its terms with accuracy. They thought first of declaring that the Word is of God (ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ), the true power of God, the image of the Father, perfectly like to the Father, immutable and always in the Father, never separated from Him; but it was realized that the Arians knew how to interpret these words according to their own views; and at last the words ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς and ὁμοούσιος were decided upon, because they gave rise to no ambiguity.³⁹

These words were not adopted without some opposition.⁴⁰ The Eusebians objected that these terms were reviving the views of the Gnostics concerning emanation, and making God a material being; that the ὁμοούσιος especially was Sabelian; that, at any rate, these words were not found in Scripture. These objections were answered, and the Fathers proceeded in their work: the symbol of Eusebius was corrected in accordance. There was an anathema which explicitly condemned the blasphemies of Arius, and thus the following formula was obtained⁴¹ and subscribed to, after some opposition, by all the bishops present, except two, Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais:

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας· ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ

³⁹ ATHANAS., *De decretis*, 19, 20; *Epist. ad Afros*, 5, 6.

⁴⁰ ATHANAS., *De decretis*, 21-24; THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 11.

⁴¹ The text is given by Eusebius in the letter to his Church (SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 8), by St. Athanasius, *Epist. ad Iovianum*, 3, and other writers. Cf. HAHN, *Bibliothek*, § 142.

οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἡ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἡ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἡ κτιστὸν ἡ τρεπτὸν ἡ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

In this formula, we may notice first that the expression υἱός has replaced the expression of Eusebius: λόγος. The former is more evangelical, as it were, and by adopting it, the Fathers of Nicæa departed more from the Hellenic concept of the Word. The meaning of γεννηθέντα is explained by the contrasting words οὐ ποιηθέντα, and especially by τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός. These last words went directly against the Arian teaching according to which the Son was foreign to the substance of the Father and of God (ξένος κατ' οὐσίαν), and was produced by the will of the Father (θελήματι καὶ βουλῇ).⁴² St. Athanasius was decidedly in favor of these last explanatory words, because they necessarily implied the ὁμοούσιος.⁴³ Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ was an affirmation of the true divinity of the Son, in the strictest sense. Then follows the ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί. It is generally believed that these famous words were introduced into the Creed at the suggestion of Hosius,⁴⁴ and were to translate the term *consubstantialis*, which had been already current in the West for many years, as a result of Tertulian's teaching. This does not mean that, until then, the Greek Church had been unacquainted with the word ὁμοούσιος. This term had been used by the Gnostics, by Origen, by the Adamantius, and by the Alexandrians in the affair of the two Dionysius. But the kind of reprobation of which it had been the object in the third Council of Antioch, held against Paul of Samosata, had made it suspect; and we can hardly believe that the Greeks would have taken the initiative in making it the test of orthodoxy. St. Athanasius himself did not attach to it so much importance

⁴² Regarding this last point, see below, the doctrine of St. Athanasius.

⁴³ *De synodis*, 41.

⁴⁴ Cf. ATHANAS., *Historia arianorum*, 42; THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 7.

as has been claimed; and while he looked upon it as the best expression of faith and the most opportune doctrinal statement against the Arians, yet—in a work of conciliation, it is true—he did not see fit to condemn those who rejected the word, provided they accepted the meaning of the word and the thing itself.⁴⁵ Now the word *ὁμοούσιος* means that the Son has the same essence, substance and intimate being as the Father. *οὐσία* designates, in a being, the first and most fundamental element: it is opposed to the individual accidental characters, to the *συμβεβηκότα* which are added to it. The Council affirms that this *οὐσία*—the concrete *οὐσία*—is numerically the same (*ὁμός*) in the Father and in the Son: for certainly the Fathers intended to affirm thus much, although they did not make on this point an explicit declaration. According to them, St. Athanasius says, the Son must be *ταὐτὸν τῇ ὁμοιώσει ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς*.⁴⁶

These, then, are the important expressions of the Symbol. As to the anathema which follows, the reader will notice in it the two words *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, which the Council looks upon as synonymous. In fact, these two words continued for many years, until about the years 362–370, to be used almost indiscriminately one for the other. The authority of Origen, who had used *ὑπόστασις* in the sense of person, did not suffice to exclude any other meaning. From an abstract point of view, *ὑπόστασις* reproduced exactly the *substantia* of the Latins. *οὐσία* was a Platonic expression; *ὑπόστασις* came from the Stoics; but the meaning of both was essentially the same.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *De synodis*, 41.

⁴⁶ *De decretis*, 20. The explanation of the *ὁμοούσιος* given by Eusebius in his letter to his Church (SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 8; THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 11) is the expedient of one who finds himself embarrassed: the word *ὁμοούσιος* has a bearing altogether different from that which he assigns to it.

⁴⁷ Cf. BETHUNE-BAKER, *An Introduction*, etc., p. 235 and foll. *The Meaning of homoousios in the Constantinopolitan Creed*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 74 and foll.

§ 3. Eusebian Reaction from the year 325 to the year 337.
Marcellus of Ancyra and Photinus.

Constantine had hoped that the decisions of Nicæa would restore religious peace to the Empire. Arius and the two obstinate bishops, Secundus and Theonas, had been exiled. Some time after, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicæa were also banished for having favored the Arians of Alexandria.⁴⁸ But the Emperor was lacking in that steadiness of purpose, necessary to secure the work of pacification. He let himself be imposed upon by his sister, Constantia, who was devoted to the cause of Arianism, and recalled from exile, in the year 328, Eusebius and Theognis, and a short time after — perhaps in the year 329 or 330, — Arius himself, after accepting from him a profession of faith that was altogether insufficient.⁴⁹ Meanwhile Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, died, and Athanasius was chosen to succeed him, on June 8, 328. Orthodoxy had found in Egypt its invincible defender.

But the Eusebians now revived. Against the definitions of Nicæa there was formed a large party, made up of elements, which although heterogeneous, were, as in all opposition parties, bound together by that opposition itself. The Arians, strictly so called, were very few in number: conscious, as they were, of their comparative weakness, they hid themselves in the main body of those who opposed the Council. The indifferent, *i. e.*, the ambitious and the shrewd, were the most numerous; but this group was made up chiefly of many bishops whose doctrinal views were rather vague, Origenists and Subordinationists by training, they were afraid chiefly of Sabellianism, which they thought was to be found in the *homoousios*. Mediocre theologians, they had no relish for clear and precise terms.

⁴⁸ THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 19; SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 21.

⁴⁹ Given by SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 26.

They were to draw up, later on, those semi-Arian and semi-orthodox professions of faith to be mentioned in the following pages,—which, of course, satisfied neither the Orthodox nor the Arians. However, as long as Constantine lived, the doctrinal question was not discussed. The Eusebians seemed to respect the decisions of Nicæa. They endeavored to do away merely with its defenders. In the year 330, they deposed the Bishop of Antioch, Eustathius, who was one of their most determined opponents. In the year 336, in consequence of repeated accusations, they had Athanasius exiled to Treves. Unfortunately for orthodoxy, there occurred then an incident, which justified apparently all the prejudices of the Eusebians against the *homousios* and the Nicæans in general:—the errors of Marcellus of Ancyra.

Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra,⁵⁰ who was an ardent follower of the Council of Nicæa, determined to refute the writings of the sophist Asterius of Cappadocia in behalf of Arianism, and for this purpose composed, about the year 335, a work, *Liber de subiunctione Domini*, of which Eusebius and St. Epiphanius have left us many fragments. The Eusebians claimed that the book contained Sabellian together with Adoptionist views. This, of course, they seized upon as grievous error. They met at Constantinople and deposed Marcellus in the year 335.⁵¹ It was on this

⁵⁰ Sources: Chiefly the fragments of his book, given by Eusebius and St. Epiphanius, and collected in *Eusebius Werke*, Bd. IV, edit. E. KLOSTERMANN, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 185–215. Here I quote these fragments according to their order in this edition; I give also in parenthesis the order followed in the edition of RETTBERG, *Marcelliana*, Göttingen, 1794. The other sources are EUSEBIUS, *Contra Marcellum*, and *De ecclesiastica theologia*. ST. EPIPHANIUS, *Haer. LXXII.*—Works: TH. ZAHN, *Marcellus von Ancyra*, Gotha, 1867. F. LOOFS, *Die Trinitätslehre Marcells v. Ancyra und ihr Verhältnis zur älteren Tradition*, Berlin, 1902.

⁵¹ SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 36.

occasion that Eusebius of Cæsarea, who had been commissioned to refute the book of Marcellus, wrote the *Contra Marcellum*, and the *De ecclesiastica theologia*, which are the chief sources from which we draw our knowledge of the doctrine of the Bishop of Ancyra.

What was that doctrine? — First of all, Marcellus observes, we must affirm the unity of God; we must lay down the monad, from which the triad will follow; for it is impossible, if three hypostases are first affirmed, to reduce them to unity.⁵² God is an indivisible monad, one *πρόσωπον*: He is *not* three hypostases.⁵³ The plurality introduced in God, as well as the inferiority of the Logos, in relation to the Father, comes from pagan infiltrations and from Origen's errors.⁵⁴

However, there exists in God *the Word*. Marcellus does not say, *the Son*, for he declares that the name Son, like those of Image, Christ, Jesus, Life, Way, etc., refers to the Incarnate Word only.⁵⁵ The *ἄσαρκος* Word is not Son, He is merely Word; and of this Word the Bible says three things. First, He was in the beginning, *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, which means that He was in the Father potentially (*δυνάμει*). Secondly, He was *πρὸς τὸν θεόν*, which means that He was near God in active energy (*ἐνεργεία*), and that He Himself created all. Lastly, Holy Writ tells us that the Word was God, to teach us that the divinity is not divided, since the Word was in God, and God in the Word.⁵⁶ Thus the Word is eternal, consubstantial (*ὁμοούσιος, αὐτοούσιος*) with God.⁵⁷ That He was a person is not at all clear.

However, the monad determines to create: the Word

⁵² Fragm. 66 (60).

⁵³ Fragm. 76, 77 (67, 68).

⁵⁴ Fragm. 85 (75), 37 (32), 88 (78).

⁵⁵ Fragm. 4-7 (4-7), 42 (36), 48 (42), 91 (43), 109 (35).

⁵⁶ Fragm. 52 (47).

⁵⁷ Fragm. 97 (86).

comes forward (προελθών, ἐκπορεύεται) to be the author of creation: He becomes an ἐνέργεια δραστική:⁵⁸ this is the first economy. The second takes place at the time of the Incarnation. Once more, the divinity extends itself through its operation and dwells in a real and complete humanity: "If we consider the Spirit only, the Word will seem rightly to be one and identical with God; but if we add 'according to the flesh' which belongs to the Savior, the divinity seems to have expanded by the mere operation (ἐνεργεία ἡ θεότης μόνη πλατύνεσθαι δοκεῖ), so that the monad is truly and rightly indivisible."⁵⁹ The principle of activity in Jesus Christ lies in this divine ἐνέργεια: it moves the body and makes the latter perform those actions related in the Gospels.⁶⁰

By means of this union, the Word ceases to be merely the Word and becomes Son. Four hundred years have not as yet elapsed, Marcellus used to say, since the day when the Word became Son of God, the first born of creatures and king.⁶¹ In Him the whole creation has been summed up (ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι),⁶² and sinful man, whose nature has thus been united to the Word, has become, in his turn, God's adopted Son, incorruptible and immortal.⁶³ It is for this purpose that the Word assumed flesh. Marcellus, however, hesitated to grant to this body assumed by the Word, an undefined existence and union with Him. Considered in itself, he said, a body does not become God; and even though it has, through the resurrection, acquired immortality, yet it has not thereby become more worthy of God, who is above immortality. Hence we may believe that,

⁵⁸ Fragm. 121 (108), 67 (60), 60 (54), etc.

⁵⁹ Fragm. 71 (62).

⁶⁰ EUSEBIUS, *Contra Marcell.*, II, 4 (P. G., XXIV, 821).

⁶¹ Fragm. 115 (102).

⁶² Fragm. 6 (6).

⁶³ Fragm. 41 (34), 110 (98).

after the parousia, the Word will give up His humanity, and reënter into God, as He was before the creation (according to *I Cor.* XV, 28). What will become of this humanity we do not know, since Scripture is silent on this point.⁶⁴ As to the Holy Ghost, whose action constituted a third economy, Marcellus spoke of Him in about the same terms as he did of the Word. Till He breathed on the Apostles (*John*, XX, 22), the Holy Spirit was contained in the Word and the Father.⁶⁵ But at that moment, there was taking place, as we read in Theodoret,⁶⁶ an extension of the extension (παρέκτασις τῆς παρεκτάσεως), and the monad was expanding itself into trinity (ἡ μονὰς φαίνεται πλατυνομένη εἰς τριάδα).⁶⁷ Again, the Holy Ghost comes from the Father and the Son; otherwise, we could not understand why St. John says (XV, 26; XVI, 14, 15) that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son.⁶⁸

These are the outlines of the doctrine of Marcellus. We are not so well informed regarding the doctrine of his disciple, Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium,⁶⁹ who was condemned, together with Marcellus by the Eusebians as early as the year 344, and, alone, by the Orthodox in the year 345. According to Photinus, God is one hypostasis; but He has in Himself His reason; He is λογopάτωρ.⁷⁰ In so far as it is interior, this reason is ἐνδιάθετος; in so far as it acts, it be-

⁶⁴ Fragm. 117-121 (104-108).

⁶⁵ Fragm. 70 (61).

⁶⁶ *Haeretic. fabul. comp.*, II, 10.

⁶⁷ Fragm. 67 (60).

⁶⁸ Fragm. 67 (60).

⁶⁹ Sources: ST. EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.* LXXI. The writings of St. Athanasius, of St. Hilary and of the ecclesiastical historians, Socrates and Sozomen, and the decrees of the Councils which condemned Photinus.

⁷⁰ NESTORIUS, ap. LOOFS, *Nestoriana*, pp. 305, 306.

comes *προφορικός*, and this *prolation* constitutes in God a first extension (*πλατυσμός*).⁷¹ The Holy Ghost is a second extension.

By the Incarnation, the Word becomes Son. According to St. Epiphanius,⁷² Photinus described the Incarnation as a change of the Word into the flesh (*εἰς σάρκα μεταβεβλημένον*); but here the Bishop of Constantia is mistaken. Photinus looked upon Jesus, born miraculously of the Virgin and of the Holy Ghost, simply as a man who had deserved by his virtues to be interiorly united to the Word, and thus to become God's adopted Son.⁷³ As the Word did not acquire through this union the personality in which He was wanting at first, it is evident that the system of Photinus was after all absolutely the same as that of Paul of Samosata.

Consequently the Eusebians and the Orthodox had no difficulty as regards the judgment to be passed on the views of Photinus, and both parties agreed in condemning him. But the heterodoxy of Marcellus was not so evident. Loofs does not look upon him as a Sabellian, and prefers to connect his Trinitarian doctrine with that of the Asiatic school before the time of St. Irenæus.⁷⁴ In reply to the adversaries who accused him of adopting Paulianism, by making Jesus Christ a man, in whom the *ἐνέργεια δραστική* had acted, Marcellus retorted the same accusation against them, and affirmed that the divinity had dwelt in Mary *σωματικῶς*.⁷⁵ He insisted also on the close and permanent bond (*σύνωσις*) which, in Jesus, united the Word to the flesh, in contrast with the passing and external action exercised by the Word

⁷¹ The Macrostich, V, VI (HAHN, *Bibliotek*, § 159); Formula of the first Council of Sirmium, VI, VIII (HAHN, § 160).

⁷² *Haer.* LXXI, 3.

⁷³ *Vigilii Tapsensis Contra arianos dialogus*, I, 4 (P. L., LXII, 182).

⁷⁴ *Leitfaden z. Studium der DG.*, 4th edit., p. 245.

⁷⁵ *Fragm.* 16 (13).

in the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Law.⁷⁶ On the other hand, his speculations regarding the cessation of the kingdom of Christ with the parousia, were, after all, mere hypotheses which he did not advance as certain; finally — and this is the most important of all,—it must be granted that his language was so lacking in accuracy that it lent itself easily to the most diverse interpretations.

On this account, while the Eusebians condemned him, the Nicæans and St. Athanasius upheld him. As for himself he did not lose courage, and when banished from his diocese for the second time in the year 338, he waited on Pope Julius, to whom he presented a formula of faith, which is still extant and which he accompanied with the Roman baptismal Symbol.⁷⁷ Although Marcellus insisted much in that document on the divine unity, yet, after all, he concealed or even perhaps recanted his former views, and at any rate, professed the *cuius regni non erit finis*. Judging the question merely from the Trinitarian and Nicæan point of view, the Pope and the Roman Council of the year 341 deemed his explanations satisfactory and affirmed his orthodoxy.⁷⁸ He was also acquitted in the Council of Sardica (343). The Fathers of this Council had all his book read, and thought that the points reproved by the Eusebians were, after all, in the author's intent, mere attempts at explanation, which were not given as final.⁷⁹ However, later on, and especially after the appearance of Photinus, the Nicæans were less enthusiastic about Marcellus, and St. Athanasius in particular, while he did not separate himself absolutely from communion with him, did not look upon him as altogether

⁷⁶ EUSEBIUS, *Contra Marcellum*, II, 4.

⁷⁷ Fragm. 129. ST. EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.* LXXII, 2, 3.

⁷⁸ See the letter of the Pope to the Orientals, in ST. ATHANASIUS, *Apologia contra arianos*, 32.

⁷⁹ ATHANAS., *Apologia contra arianos*, 47.

innocent.⁸⁰ The Cappadocians were far more severe with him.⁸¹ Taken all in all, it is to be regretted that the orthodox party deemed it advisable to uphold him before demanding of him a precise and explicit repudiation of the errors of which he was accused. This attitude was like playing into the hands of the Eusebians, and gave them the opportunity of joining in the same condemnation Marcellus and his friends.

We may now take up the sequence of events.

§ 4. Councils and Formulas of faith, from the year
337 to the year 350.

Constantine died on May 22, 337, leaving the Empire to his three sons. Constantine the Younger received Spain, Gaul and Brittany; Constantius ruled over the East, and to Constans Italy and Africa fell as his share. The exiled bishops were recalled, and Athanasius returned to Alexandria (November 23, 338). But in Constantius the Eusebians found the man they wanted,—an emperor who was fond of dogmatizing, and who besides was fickle and easily influenced. Deprived of his see, his life threatened, Athanasius had to leave hurriedly his abode (March 19, 340), and take refuge in Rome. There he was safe under the protection of Pope Julius and of the young Constans, who this same year had defeated his brother Constantine, and had thus become master of the whole West, except Thrace. A Council of fifty bishops, which the Eusebians, who had asked for it, refused to attend, was held in Rome in October, 341, and recognized the lawful claims of Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra. The Pope communicated these decisions to the Eusebians⁸² and complained at the

⁸⁰ ST. HILARY, *Fragm.* II, 21; ST. EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.* LXXII, 4.

⁸¹ ST. BASIL, *Epist.* LXIX, 2; cf. *Epist.* CCLXIII, 5.

⁸² See the letter in ATHANASIUS, *Apologia contra arianos*, 21-35.

same time that a matter concerning a patriarch of Alexandria should have been examined and settled in the East before he, the Bishop of Rome, had been made cognizant of it by writing, "as the custom has been."⁸³

But the Eusebians, who had no time to attend the Council of Rome, found time to hold several such assemblies in the East. In the year 341, May–September, they held that of Antioch *in encaeniis*. It adopted three formulas of faith, the beginning of that series of symbols which were to follow one another for twenty years, and were characterized by these two features: (1) The omission, nay, at times, the express rejection of the *ὁμοούσιος*. (2) The condemnation of Arianism strictly so called. Thus they oscillate between error and orthodoxy, coming closer to the one or to the other according to the party which is predominant in the Council. At times, they do not affirm error; but they do not proclaim the whole truth: they fail chiefly through insufficiency and omission.

The three formulas of the Council *in encaeniis* have been preserved by St. Athanasius. The first⁸⁴ is dogmatically insignificant. Let us merely notice the affirmation—against Marcellus—of the eternal dominion of Christ,—an affirmation which will occur often in the other formulas. The second⁸⁵ is that which, as we have seen, was ascribed to Lucian of Antioch. It is directed chiefly against the Sabellians. St. Hilary deems it satisfactory,⁸⁶ and, as a matter of fact, it is sufficiently plain regarding the divinity of the Son, whom it proclaims *θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ . . . ἀτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλαίωτον τῆς θεότητος οὐσίας τε καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ*

⁸³ *Id.*, 35.

⁸⁴ ATHANAS., *De synodis*, 22; SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 10; HAHN, § 153.

⁸⁵ ATHANAS., *De synodis*, 23; SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 10; HAHN, § 154.

⁸⁶ HILARY, *De synodis*, 31–33.

δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα, and very explicit about His eternity. Of the three terms in the Trinity, the formula said that they were τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἓν. The third formula,⁸⁷ proposed by Theophronius of Tyana, opposes directly the view of Marcellus of Ancyra, and proclaims the Son θεὸν τέλειον ἐκ θεοῦ τελείου, καὶ ὄντα πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐν ὑποστάσει.

A fourth formula⁸⁸ is ascribed to this same Council of Antioch: whether it was the work of the Council or only that of the four bishops whom the Fathers sent to Constans, we cannot say. While this formula condemns explicitly both Marcellianism and Arianism strictly so called, its positive elements are very vague. The formula was handed over to Constans by the four deputies: their embassy did not go further than this.

Meanwhile, Eusebius of Nicomedia, who, since the year 339, had been holding the see of Constantinople, died (end of 341), and his death gave rise in this city to serious disturbances. On the advice of the Pope, Hosius and Athanasius, Constans came to an understanding with his brother Constantius on the question of convoking a great Council that would endeavor to restore peace. This was the Council of Sardica (343).⁸⁹

The Council was presided over by Hosius. The two Papal legates, Archidamus and Philoxenus, signed after him. The Orthodox,—half of whom came from the West properly so called,—were about eighty, among them Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra. The dissenters, who could no longer be called Eusebians, were not quite so numerous. Their leaders were Acacius of Cæsarea in Palestine, Basil of Ancyra, Maris of Chalcedon, and the two

⁸⁷ ATHANASIUS, *De synodis*, 24; HAHN, § 155.

⁸⁸ ATHANAS., *De synodis*, 25; SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 18; HAHN, § 156.

⁸⁹ Or perhaps end of 342.

bishops Ursacius of Singidunum and Valens of Mursa. Being conscious of their inability to cope with their opponents, they alleged a defect of procedure and refused to sit in the Council; then they retired to Philippopolis, where they adopted a new profession of faith.⁹⁰ This was the fourth formula of Antioch, that which had been carried to Constans, augmented by another anathema against the Sabellians and those who claimed that the Father did not beget the Son by His will (οὐ βουλήσει οὐδὲ θελήσει).

Meanwhile the legitimate Council of Sardica continued to hold its sessions. The Fathers restored Athanasius and Marcellus to their sees, deposed Acacius of Cæsarea, George of Laodicea, Ursacius and Valens, and enacted twenty canons. There was some thought of promulgating a new profession of faith to replace that of Nicæa, which was deemed incomplete. Theodoret has preserved its text.⁹¹ It proclaimed *μίαν εἶναι ὑπόστασιν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ αἵρετικοὶ οὐσίαν προσαγορεύουσι, τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, but it added also that the Father was not the Son, nor the Son the Father. Here the word *ὑπόστασις* is evidently taken as the equivalent of *substantia*.⁹² However, as the dissenters were much inclined to use it in the sense of *person*,⁹³ to adopt it would have resulted in confusing still more the questions under consideration and exasperating many bishops. The Council wisely abstained from it.

Its decisions were communicated to Constantius. This prince, realizing that Constans must be treated gently, answered this communication by sending an embassy of two

⁹⁰ HILARY, *De synodis*, 34; Fragm. III, 29; HAHN, § 158. The Greek original of the addition has been preserved in the Macrostich. See below.

⁹¹ *Hist. eccl.*, II, 6; HAHN, § 157.

⁹² Later on Paulinus of Antioch will also maintain the expression *μὴ ὑπόστασις* (St. BASIL, *Epist.* CCXIV, 3); and cf. St. JEROME, *Epist.* XV, 3; St. ATHANASIUS, *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, 5.

⁹³ See, above, the third formula of Antioch.

bishops to his brother and to the Latins. The ambassadors carried with them a new formula of faith, probably prepared in a Council of Antioch held in the year 345, which has been called *Macrostich* (μακρόστιχος, with long lines) on account of its length.⁹⁴ It comprised (1) The fourth formula of Antioch; (2) The addition made at Philippopolis, and (3) several explanations, six or seven times longer than these two texts. The Son was proclaimed to be of the hypostasis of the Father (III), perfect and true God by nature (Θεὸν κατὰ φύσιν τέλειον εἶναι καὶ ἀληθῆ, IV), joined to the Father without any interval of separation (ἀμειψιτέως καὶ ἀδιαστάτως) and having together with Him only one divine dignity, ἐν τῆς θεότητος ἀξίωμα (IX), subordinate, however, to Him, begotten by Him spontaneously and voluntarily (ἐκονσίως καὶ ἐθελοντήν, VIII). Paul of Samosata, Marcellus, Photinus, the Patripassians and the Sabellians were also condemned.

On the whole, if we except the omission of the *ὁμοούσιος* and the subordination feature, this formula marked a real advance towards doctrinal agreement. The following year, on October 21, 346, Athanasius returned to Alexandria. The various parties were becoming tired of fighting one another. Athanasius seemed ready to disown Marcellus, after the sensational utterances and condemnation of Photinus. General peace would have perhaps prevailed, when Constant died January, 350. This event, which placed the whole Empire in the hands of Constantius, increased considerably the strength of the dissenters.

§ 5. Divisions of the Antinician party. Triumph of the Acacians.

As a matter of fact, the dissenters hastened to take advantage of this event. In the year 351, they held a Council at Sirmium: a new formula — the seventh of the series —

⁹⁴ ATHANASIUS, *De synodis*, 26; HAHN, § 159.

was drawn up.⁹⁵ It consisted of the fourth formula of Antioch and twenty-seven anathemas, the first of which reproduced the addition made at Philippopolis. The spirit with which it is animated is substantially that of the Macrostich formula; but it is directed especially against the error of Photinus and speaks more explicitly of the Holy Ghost, of whom it says that He is not the unbegotten God, that He is really distinct from the Son and is a part (μέρος) neither of the Father, nor of the Son (XX-XXII).

Then fresh intrigues were formed against Athanasius. The new Pope, Liberius (May 17, 352), endeavored in vain to protect him. Betrayed by his legates in the Council of Arles (354), he saw also the violence of the Arians triumph in the Council of Milan (355) over the consciences of the bishops. Condemned and pursued even in his own Church, Athanasius fled on February 9, 356, while Hilary, exiled after the synod of Béziers (356), left for Asia and Phrygia.

The party of the Antinician opposition seemed to be definitely victorious. But, as has been already remarked, the elements of which it was made up were essentially lacking in homogeneity. After uniting for the attack, the Antinicians, now triumphant, ceased to agree and formed three groups corresponding to as many doctrinal tendencies.

The first group was that of the true, or rather, reinforced Arians. Their leaders were Aetius, Eunomius and Eudoxius of Constantinople. The latter was best known for his assurance and self-conceit; the two others were logicians for whom theology was mere dialectics.⁹⁶ Their system, which we know quite well from what remains of their writings and of the refutations of the same,⁹⁷ amounted to this:

⁹⁵ ATHANAS., *De synodis*, 27; SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 30; HAHN, § 160.

⁹⁶ THEODORET, *Haeretic. fabul. compendium*, IV, 3.

⁹⁷ The sources are: (1) 47 propositions of Aetius, in ST. EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.* LXXVI, II. (2) The "Εκθεσις πίστεως of Eunomius presented

God is the being essentially simple and one (τὸ ὅν); by essence He is unbegotten and not produced (ἀγέννητον). Because He is infinitely simple and very little comprehensive, He is perfectly intelligible. I know God, Eunomius said, as well as He knows Himself.⁹⁸ But because essentially, He is not produced, anything that is begotten or produced in some way cannot be God: this can be neither ὁμοούσιον, nor ὁμοιούσιον, nor even ὅμοιον to God: it is necessarily ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας, ἀνόμοιον.⁹⁹

Since He is begotten—that is, created, according to Eunomius,—the Son resembles the Father at most morally,¹⁰⁰ but in His physical being He is in no way like the Father: He is ἀνόμιος. His privilege consists merely in being the immediate work of God, whereas other creatures, even the Holy Ghost,¹⁰¹ are the work of the Son. It is in this sense that He is κτίσμα τοῦ ἀκτίστου, οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων, ποίημα τοῦ ἀποιήτου, οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν ποιημάτων.¹⁰²

This first group received the name of Aetians, Eunomians, Anomœans, Exoucontians (!) and Heterousiasts.

At the other extreme, we find a second group which had Basil of Ancyra for its leader (οἱ περὶ Βασίλειον). It was made up of the bishops who were rightly called Semi-Arians (ἡμιάρειοι). The word which for them best expressed the relations between the Father and the Son was ὁμοιούσιος; in their eyes, it marked more clearly than the

to Theodosius, in the notes of Valois on Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 10. (3) The *Apologeticus* of the same author (*P. G.*, XXX, 835). (4) The treatises of St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nyssa against Eunomius, and St. Epiphanius, *Haer.* LXXVI.

⁹⁸ SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 7; cf. THEODORET, *Haeret. fabul.*, IV, 3; BASIL, *Epist.* CCXXXV.

⁹⁹ AETIUS, Prop. IV; EUNOMIUS, *Apolog.*, II, 26.

¹⁰⁰ EUNOMIUS, *Apolog.*, 24; *Confessio fidei*, 3.

¹⁰¹ EUNOMIUS, *Apolog.*, 28; BASIL, *Contra Eunomium*, II, 33.

¹⁰² EUNOMIUS, *Apolog.*, 28.

word *ὁμοούσιος* the distinction between the two Persons, and moreover, it enabled the most advanced in the party to understand also the subordination of the Son. Several members of this group—to which St. Cyril of Jerusalem belonged for many years¹⁰³—were in reality orthodox, but they placed no trust in Athanasius and in his formulas. Some years later, about the year 360, others denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost. Thus the name of Semi-Arians designated henceforth those who held correct or almost correct views about the person of the Son, and departed from the doctrine of the Church regarding the person of the Holy Ghost.¹⁰⁴

Finally, there soon arose between these two parties a third party, of which Acacius of Cæsarea was the leader. This was a mere political party, which aimed at keeping up the combination of all the Antinicean forces by avoiding as much as possible all precise formulas. Its motto was *ὅμοιος*. The Son was *ὅμοιος πατρὶ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*, an expression which they thought was so vague that it could give offence to no one. The theologians of this party were called Acacians or Homœans.

It is between these three parties—the Anomœans, Semi-Arians and Homœans—that the battle is to be fought till the end of the reign of Constantius (361).

A scandalous utterance of the Anomœans gave rise to the division. In the year 357, some bishops whose views were still more erroneous than those of the average dissenters, met at Sirmium, where Constantius happened to be. These were Ursacius and Valens, Potamius of Lisbon, and

¹⁰³ The *ὁμοούσιος* never appears in his catechetical discourses; instead, we find *ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα, ἐν πᾶσιν* (IV, 7; XI, 4). Cf. SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 8.

¹⁰⁴ See the first canon of the general Council of 381: *τὴν (αἵρεσιν) τῶν ἡμιαρειάνων εἵτουν πνευματομάχων*.

Germanicus of Sirmium. They drew up in Latin a formula of faith which Hilary calls a blasphemy:¹⁰⁵ a name under which it has ever since been known. Both the *ὁμοούσιος* and the *ὁμοιούσιος* were rejected; the Son was declared to be unquestionably inferior to the Father in honor, dignity and majesty, and subject to Him; the Holy Ghost was said to be by the Son: *Paracletus autem Spiritus per Filium est*. This is the second Sirmium formula.

Hosius, then almost a hundred years old, was made to subscribe to it, and it was accepted in a synod of Antioch, in the year 358, by Eudoxius and Acacius.¹⁰⁶ But the bishops of Gaul opposed it strenuously, and there arose almost immediately a strong protest against it from the Semi-Arians, who had met at Ancyra shortly before Easter, 358. The few bishops who attended this meeting set forth a long doctrinal manifesto divided into two parts.¹⁰⁷ The first part declared that, taken by itself, the notion of paternity implied a similarity in substance between father and son; that the Word is Son in the natural meaning of the term, and therefore is not created (3); that, in what belongs essentially to it, the notion itself of Son can be reduced to the notion of similarity with the Father (4); hence, that the Son is like the Father in substance, *ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν, κατὰ τὴν θεότητα* (5, 8, 9). The second part included nineteen anathemas grouped two by two, directed alternately against Anomœanism and Sabellianism; the last anathema condemned the *ὁμοούσιος*: *Καὶ εἰ τις ἐξουσία καὶ οὐσία λέγων τὸν πατέρα πατέρα τοῦ υἱοῦ, ὁμοούσιον δὲ ἢ ταυτοούσιον λέγοι τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*. The opposition of this anathema to the preceding one, which condemns Eunomius, and the

¹⁰⁵ See the text of this formula of faith in HILARY, *De synodis*; HAHN, § 161; the Greek text, in ATHANASIUS, *De synodis*, 28.

¹⁰⁶ SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 12, 15.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. ST. EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.* LXXIII, 2-11. HAHN (§ 162) gives only the anathemas.

identification of *ταυτοούσιον* with *ὁμοούσιον* show plainly that those who drew up the formula deemed the last word a Sabellian expression.

Although all the parts of that manifesto are not equally clear, and, in particular, it does not affirm the strict consubstantiality, still it shows plainly that the Semi-Arians were gradually advancing towards orthodoxy and withdrawing from Eudoxius and his friends. The document, which was brought to Sirmium and presented to Constantius, wrought a change in the mind of the Emperor, whom the Anomœans had already won over to their side. By his order, a Council — the third — met at Sirmium that same year, 358; but the bishops abstained from drawing up a new symbol. They merely adopted, as an expression of their faith, a group of documents: (1) The decisions of the Council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata; (2) The second formula of Antioch of the year 341, called Lucian's formula; (3) The first formula of Sirmium, which included the fourth formula of Antioch and the twenty-seven anathemas against Photinus.

It is at this time that we must place what has been styled the fall of Pope Liberius. Since the year 355 he had been living in exile at Beræa and had been supplanted at Rome by the antipope Felix II. To obtain, even by violence, his adhesion to the Antinicean party would be of course a great, nay a crowning victory, which Constantius and the Semi-Arians, who were then enjoying the imperial favor, ardently desired. This satisfaction they obtained when one, or even two, signatures were at last extorted from the Pope, one at Beræa in the year 357, the other, much better proved, at Sirmium, in the year 358.¹⁰⁸ In this docu-

¹⁰⁸ The authorities are ST. ATHANASIUS, *Historia arianorum ad monachos*, 41; *Apologia contra arianos*, 89; ST. HILARY, *Contra Constantium*, II; ST. JEROME, *Chronicle*, 380–385; *De viris illustribus*, 97. As to the letters of Liberius, quoted in ST. HILARY, *Fragm.* VI, 5–11, their au-

ment, he stated that he severed his connection with Athanasius, entered in communion with the dissenters and accepted one or two formulas of faith, which, while they were not heretical, did not contain, however, the *ὁμοούσιος*. The formulas which he signed at Sirmium were probably those adopted by the Council that had met there a short time before. Sozomen remarks, however, that, in order to define his meaning with more precision, and answer the insinuations of some Anomœan bishops, Liberius declared that he looked upon as strangers to the Church those who held that the Son is not like to the Father in substance, nay, in everything, *μη̄ κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον*.¹⁰⁹

The triumph of Basil of Ancyra seemed almost complete: but he misused it, first by obtaining from the Emperor the exile of the Anomœans in a body and particularly of their leaders, Aetius, Eunomius and Eudoxius, and then, by attempting to have his victory acknowledged by a large Council. There was some delay in the determination of the place and date of this meeting. Following in the footsteps of the early Arians, who, after the Council of Nicæa, had become Eusebians, the Anomœans became Acacians or Homœans and prejudiced Constantius against Basil. The

thenticity is doubtful. Several authors — for instance MGR. DUCHESNE (*Hist. anc. de l'Eglise*, II, p. 281 and foll., English transl.) — admit, as I have implied in the text, not one but two signatures, and this assertion rests on the letters of Liberius which I have just mentioned, and on the testimony of SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 15.— Besides, it is worth remarking that, in Roman surroundings, the reputation of Liberius does not seem to have suffered from the incidents. In this connection see the letter of Anastasius I to Venerius of Milan, written about the years 400-401, of which J. van den Ghein has given a critical edition in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, vol. IV (1899), pp. 1-12. The author, who had probably known Liberius personally, compares him to Eusebius of Vercelli and to Hilary, and does not suggest that he ever fell into error. Cf. also J. ZEILLER, *La question du Pape Libère*, in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéol. chrét.*, Jan. 15, 1913.

¹⁰⁹ SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 15.

Emperor decided that there should be two Councils, one at Rimini for the West, the other at Seleucia for the East, and that each Council should send ten delegates who would bring to him its decisions. Meanwhile and before leaving Sirmium, those bishops who were present agreed on a formula of faith — the third formula of Sirmium, and the eleventh in the whole series — which was to be conciliatory and serve as a basis for the deliberations of the two Councils.¹¹⁰ In it the Son was proclaimed “begotten impassibly from God, before all ages, and before all origin, and before all conceivable time . . . like to the Father who begat Him, according to the Scriptures.” The use of the word *οὐσία* in reference to God was henceforth placed under the ban, inasmuch as it was misunderstood by ordinary people and not found in Holy Writ; however, the bishops added that the Son was like the Father *κατὰ πάντα*, as the Bible said and taught.

On May 22, 359, all the bishops who were present at Sirmium signed this formula; however, from several incidents related by St. Epiphanius,¹¹¹ we may safely infer that in reality they did not agree. When subscribing to the document, Valens tried to juggle with the words *κατὰ πάντα*. On the other hand, Basil of Ancyra insisted strongly on these two words, which, as he declared, meant that the Son was like the Father, not only in will, but in hypostasis, subsistence and being (*κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπαρξιν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι*). He affirmed, moreover, that anyone who said that the Son was like the Father only in some respects (*κατὰ τι*), was outside the Catholic Church.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ It is found in ST. ATHANASIUS, *De synodis*, 16, 17; SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 37; HAHN, § 163. This formula was composed by Marcus of Arethusa.

¹¹¹ *Haer.* LXXIII, 22.

¹¹² It was probably at this time that, in order to explain fully his position and conceal his defeat, Basil of Ancyra published the memo-

The formula thus subscribed was brought to Rimini by Valens. There he found more than four hundred bishops gathered — of whom about eighty were Antiniceans,— and presided over by Restitutus of Carthage.¹¹³ The majority of the bishops put aside the formula presented by Valens, declared the symbol of Nicæa sufficient and insisted on the use of the word *substance*.¹¹⁴ But the dissenters, who realized their numerical inferiority, held clandestine meetings by themselves.¹¹⁵ Their ten deputies reached Constantius at the same time as those of the regular Council. After being made cognizant of this state of affairs, Constantius forbade the Fathers of Rimini to disperse before receiving his answer, and, partly through violence, and partly through cunning, he prevailed upon their deputies to sign, at Nice, in Thrace, a formula — the twelfth of the series,¹¹⁶ — which reproduced most of the third formula of Sirmium, but did not contain the words *κατὰ πάντα*, and besides condemned the term *μία ὑπόστασις* and the term *οὐσία*; moreover, by resorting once more to violence and cunning, the Emperor succeeded in having the bishops present at Rimini subscribe to this new formula.¹¹⁷ However, twenty persisted in their refusal and gave their signatures only after some qualifications, which condemned Arianism, had been added. But the qualification, skilfully inserted by Valens, to the effect that “the Son was not a creature like *randum* reproduced by St. Epiphanius after the declaration of Ancyra (*Haer.* LXXIII, 12-22). The reader may consult with profit the articles of G. RASNEUR, *L'homoïousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie*, in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. IV (1903), especially pp. 200-206.

¹¹³ The Pope had no representative, perhaps because Constantius refused to pronounce between Liberius and Felix II.

¹¹⁴ HILARY, *Fragm.* VII, 3.

¹¹⁵ Sulpitius Severus, *Historia sacra*, II, 41.

¹¹⁶ It is found in ATHANASIUS, *De synodis*, 30; THEODORET, *Hist. eccles.*, II, 21; HAHN, § 164.

¹¹⁷ HILARY, *Fragm.* IX; Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. sacra*, II, 43.

other creatures" was ambiguous. No one saw the snare, and after Valens had solemnly declared that he was not an Arian, the bishops went away, each party ascribing the victory to itself: the Arian party, on account of the symbol, the orthodox party, on account of the additions.¹¹⁸

At Seleucia, matters were no better. The Semi-Arians were in the majority, and St. Hilary, who was present, did not hesitate to hold intercourse with them. The bishops put aside the blasphemous views of Eudoxius, and refused to adopt a profession of faith drawn up by Acacius, in which he rejected at one and the same time *ὁμοούσιος*, *ὁμοιούσιος* and *ἀνόμιος*, and kept only *ὅμοιος*.¹¹⁹ All that they did, was to sign one of the Antiochian formulas of the year 341.¹²⁰ Immediately after, the Council was officially declared closed by the quæstor Leonas, and ten deputies were sent to Constantius. But the Acacians interfered again, and after all sorts of discussions and intrigues, the deputies from Seleucia signed, at last, the formula of Nice, augmented with the additions made thereto by the twenty bishops at Rimini (359).¹²¹ This was a victory for the Acacians. They marked it by a synod held at Constantinople in the year 360, and, after deposing the leaders of the Semi-Arian party—Basil of Ancyra, Cyril of Jerusalem and many others,—they installed Eudoxius at Constantinople and Eunomius at Cyzicus, and by main strength succeeded in having the formula of Nice subscribed to throughout the provinces. In the words of St. Jerome, the whole world might have believed itself Arian.

¹¹⁸ ST. JEROME, *Dialog. contra luciferianos*, 18; Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. sacra*, II, 44.

¹¹⁹ See the formula in Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, 40; Hahn, § 165.

¹²⁰ Hilary, *Contra Constantium imperatorem*, 13, 12; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, 39.

¹²¹ Hilary, *Contra Const. imper.*, 15; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, 23; Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. sacra*, II, 45.

§ 6. The Pneumatomachi.

The whole world was *not* Arian, and the death of Constantius, which took place in the following year (November 3, 361), was to be precisely the starting-point of a return to orthodoxy. But after the question of the relations between the Father and the Son, another question had recently been raised:—that of the divinity of the Holy Ghost and of His relations to the other two Persons. The problem was truly a Trinitarian problem.

As we have already seen, Arius and Eunomius looked upon the Holy Ghost as a creature of the Son. Thus far, however, this point of their doctrine had remained in the background. About the years 359–360, it comes suddenly to the fore in two places at once. In the wilderness where he had taken his refuge, Athanasius received letters from Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, telling him that some of the pastors and the faithful, although they detest the wicked teachings of Arius concerning the Son, entertain erroneous views regarding the Holy Ghost. Him they represent as a creature, as one of the ministering spirits, differing from the Angels in degree only: λεγόντων αὐτὸ (τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα) μὴ μόνον κτίσμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν πνευμάτων ἐν αὐτὸ εἶναι, καὶ βαθμῶ μόνον αὐτὸ διαφέρειν τῶν ἀγγέλων.¹²² To refute this error, Athanasius sends to Serapion his Ist, III^d and IVth letters. He calls the new heretics *tropicists* (τροπικοί), because they explain in a metaphorical, *i. e.*, in a tropical sense, the texts from Scripture that are opposed to their views.

At the same time, or perhaps shortly before,¹²³ some bishops, who belonged to the homoiousian or Semi-Arian party, declared also against the divinity of the Holy Ghost,

¹²² ATHANASIUS, *Epist. ad Serapionem*, I, 1.

¹²³ The disturbance recorded by Serapion in Egypt does not seem to have arisen from the Semi-Arian movement, but rather to have occurred simultaneously.

and did not hesitate to represent Him as a minister similar to the angels.¹²⁴ Their teaching, which spread rapidly at Constantinople, in Thrace, Bithynia, Hellespont and in the neighboring provinces, was not at first adopted by all the Semi-Arians. However, it became so common among them that, between the years 360 and 380, the name "Semi-Arians" was used as synonymous with "Pneumatomachi." These were called also Macedonians, from the former Bishop of Constantinople,¹²⁵ or Marathonians, from one of their leaders, Marathonius, bishop of Nicomedia.

§ 7. Triumph of the Nicæan Doctrine. Second General Council.

This, then, was the state of affairs when Constantius died: officially, Acacianism, *i. e.*, doctrinal indefiniteness, had the upper hand; a new error, that of the Pneumatomachi, was making its appearance,¹²⁶ and dividing against themselves the Semi-Arians, who might have joined hands with the Orthodox. Besides, the new Emperor, Julian, soon declared against Christianity. Apparently things could not have been worse; in reality, they were not so bad as they seemed. In the West, heresy had made no important conquest; in the East, the various parties were tired out and the Semi-Arians notably, were of necessity thrown after their defeat into the camp of the Nicæans, their only support against the extreme Arians. Arianism derived its chief strength from the imperial favor; once deprived of this help, it declined rapidly and soon disappeared from the Empire.

We cannot attempt to relate here in all its details the history of the gradual downfall of Arianism and of the parallel restoration of orthodoxy. Of that downfall and that

¹²⁴ SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 45; SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 27; ST. BASIL, *Epist.* CCLI, 4; THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 5.

¹²⁵ It is hardly probable that Macedonius himself ever taught this doctrine.

¹²⁶ Of Apollinarianism, which appeared also at that time, we shall speak later.

restoration, which were due chiefly to the persevering efforts and the untiring and magnanimous zeal of Athanasius and his friends, it will suffice to note down the most important stages.

In the West, as has just been said, the task of restoring orthodoxy was comparatively easy. In the year 360, a Council at Paris, while not reproving the word *ὁμοιούσιος*, which admits of a correct interpretation, declared for the word *ὁμοούσιος* and at the same time condemned Sabellianism.¹²⁷ In Italy, notwithstanding all the obstacles placed in their way by the Luciferian intolerance,¹²⁸ Hilary, who had gone over to Italy, and Eusebius of Vercelli, worked with success for the reconciliation of the bishops who had departed from the true doctrine. In order to be reinstated, these had only to acknowledge the symbol of Nicæa and the condemnation of Arianism. The Bishop of Milan, Auxentius, soon found himself alone on the side of heresy. At Rome, especially, four Councils which were held successively under Damasus, the successor of Liberius, in the years 369, 376, 377, 380, renewed the decisions of Nicæa, defined the divinity and consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost, and condemned, besides Apollinaris, the Sabellians, Arians and Macedonians.¹²⁹ In Pannonia, Ursacius and Valens persisted in their error, whereas Germinius of Sirmium subscribed, in the year 366, to the *ὁμοιος κατὰ πάντα*.¹³⁰

In the East, the task of restoration and reconciliation was

¹²⁷ HILARY, *Fragm.* XI, 1-4.

¹²⁸ This was the name given to the schismatic party of Lucifer of Cagliari, who refused to have any intercourse whatever with the bishops who had compromised themselves during the Arian struggle, or to show them any mercy or forgiveness.

¹²⁹ *Damasi epist.* I, II, fragm. 1-3 (*P. L.*, XIII, 347, foll.); SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 23; THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 17. Perhaps we may refer to the Council of 380 the *Confessio fidei catholicae* of Damasus, *P. L.*, XIII, 358; HAHN, § 271. Cf. THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 11.

¹³⁰ HILARY, *Fragm.* XIII-XV.

more difficult and delicate; still, it was ultimately concluded, in spite of all sorts of obstacles. As early as the year 359, Athanasius had taken, in his treatise *De synodis*, the first steps towards reunion by assuring the dissenters that he had no wish to dispute concerning the words, but only the ideas on which he and they did not agree. After his return to Alexandria, February 22, 362, he held in that city, the same year, an important Council of which he drew up the synodal letter, the *Tomus ad Antiochenos*. The Council determined that, in order to be reconciled, those who had favored Arianism had only to recognize the Council of Nicæa and to reject Arianism. It condemned those who claimed "that the Holy Ghost was a creature and separate from the substance of Christ,"¹³¹ and refused to decide between those who, in speaking of God, said *μία ὑπόστασις* and those who said *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, since all agreed on the substance of the doctrine.¹³² The *tomus* was sent to Antioch, and signed by Bishop Paulinus. Another Council held in the year 373, proclaimed once more the teaching of Nicæa and the divinity of the Holy Ghost.¹³³ On May 2, 373, Athanasius departed this life. He was succeeded by Peter.

At Antioch, the doctrinal question was complicated by personal rivalries, which served to prolong the disturbance for many years. Meletius, an undecided Arian, who had been made patriarch by Constantius in the year 361, declared almost immediately for the *ὁμοιούσιος*; then, in the year 363, together with twenty-seven bishops — among them Acacius of Cæsarea, — he gave his signature to the Nicæan decrees, adding that they accepted the word *ὁμοούσιος*, because they had been told that it was equivalent to *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς* and to *ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν*.¹³⁴ During the year 379, in a great

¹³¹ *Tomus ad Antioch.*, 3.

¹³² *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, 5, 6.

¹³³ ATHANASIUS, *Epist. ad Iovianum*, 4.

¹³⁴ SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, III, 25.

Council of a hundred and fifty-three bishops who had gathered at Antioch, another definite step was taken. Together with the bishops of his province, Meletius subscribed purely and simply to the Roman formularies.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, the Patriarch's Arian antecedents had rendered him, from the beginning, suspect to the rigid among the Orthodox, and, since the year 362, these had acknowledged as their bishop one of their priests, Paulinus, who had been consecrated by Lucifer of Cagliari. Paulinus had the support of Rome and Alexandria, Meletius, that of the East. Notwithstanding the doctrinal agreement of both parties, it was only in the following century that unity was restored in the Church of Antioch.

It was chiefly at Constantinople and in the peninsula of Asia Minor that the return to orthodoxy was slow and surrounded with difficulties. At Constantinople, the Arians held absolute sway until the year 379, when St. Gregory of Nazianzus took up his abode in the small oratory of the Anastasis and delivered his famous *theological* discourses on the Trinity. But in the year 380, Theodosius restored all the churches to the Orthodox, and in the year 381, he caused the second general Council to be held in the imperial city.—In Asia Minor, the revival, which, it is true, had begun before St. Basil's episcopate, was due chiefly to his exertions. As early as the year 364, a Council of Semi-Arians, who had met at Lampsacus, had condemned the formula of Nice, and resumed the expression ὁμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν. Rejected by the Emperor Valens, whose approval they hoped to obtain, the delegates of the Council went to confer with Pope Liberius. After assuring him that, in their eyes, ὁμοιούσιος was synonymous with ὁμοούσιος, they were welcomed by him, and subscribed the symbol of Nicæa,

¹³⁵ See DUCHESNE, *Hist. anc. de l'Église*, II, p. 421, note 2 — English transl.

remarking, besides, that, in their estimation, the word *ὁμοούσιος* had been chosen *ἀγίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς* to express the faith of the Church.¹³⁶ The Papal letter which they brought with them and which granted communion to the sixty-four bishops whose representatives they were, was received with joy at the synod of Tyana in Cappadocia (367);¹³⁷ however, there were some protests in Caria.¹³⁸

Hardly had he been elected bishop (370) when St. Basil, who, owing to the schism of Antioch and the preponderance of Arianism at Constantinople, had become the effective leader of the Oriental episcopate, addressed himself first to Athanasius and then to the Pope in order to obtain from them moral support and firm decisions that would dispel prejudices and give peace of mind. He desired above all that Apollinarianism should be condemned and the claims of Meletius, declared legitimate. His endeavors were partly successful. In the year 377, a letter of Damasus condemned Apollinaris, deposed his disciple, Timothy, and defined once more the divinity of the Holy Ghost.¹³⁹ Owing to the untiring patience of St. Basil and the declarations of the West, opposition subsided gradually and prejudice diminished. The advent of Theodosius to the throne (379) brought to orthodoxy the imperial support. All felt that things were about to be definitely settled.

This settlement took place two years later. In the edict published in the year 380, after his baptism, Theodosius had first declared it to be his intention to abide by the faith of Damasus and Peter of Alexandria.¹⁴⁰ But, after he came to the East, he realized that these two names grated

¹³⁶ SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 12.

¹³⁷ SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 12; SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 11, 12.

¹³⁸ SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 12. But see also DUCHESNE, *Hist. anc. de l'Église*, II, p. 430, note — English transl.

¹³⁹ *Damasi Epist.* VII, II, fragm. 2 and 3.

¹⁴⁰ See the text of the edict in HARNACK, *Lehrb. der DG.*, II, p. 272, and *History of Dogma*, vol. IV, p. 94, note 2.

on the ears of all those Orientals, who were, no doubt, orthodox, but were still deeply incensed against Rome and Alexandria, which, after all, had won the day. This is why the Pope was not invited to the Council of Constantinople in the year 381. There were present only a hundred and eighty-six bishops, thirty-six of whom were Pneumatomachi and followed Eleusius of Cyzicus as their leader. The Council was presided over first by Meletius, then by St. Gregory of Nazianzus, as bishop of Constantinople, and last by his successor, Nectarius. The Pneumatomachi, who had been requested to abjure their error, withdrew from the Council.¹⁴¹ The Fathers went on with their proceedings and drew up a *τόμος*, *i. e.*, a detailed exposition of the Trinitarian doctrine. Of that document, which is no longer extant, we have perhaps the substance in the first canon of the Council, which reads as follows: "The confession of faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, who were assembled at Nicæa in Bithynia, shall not be abolished, but shall remain, and every heresy shall be anathematized, especially that of the Eunomians or Anomœans, the Arians or Eudoxians, the Semi-Arians or Pneumatomachi, the Sabellians, Marcellians, Photinians and Apollinarians."¹⁴²

Besides the four canons of the Council which are certainly authentic, there was ascribed to the same Council, as early as the year 451 in the East and about the year 530 in the West, a symbol that reproduces almost word for word that of Nicæa (it has not the *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός*) and completes it.¹⁴³ This is the symbol still used in the Latin liturgy. As the text of that symbol is found in the *Ancoratus* of St. Epiphanius (119), composed in the year 374, and as, moreover, the passage that refers to the Holy

¹⁴¹ SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 8.

¹⁴² HEFELE, *Hist. des Conciles*, 2d edit., French transl., II, 1, p. 20, or *History of the Councils*, vol. II, p. 353.

¹⁴³ HAHN, § 144.

Ghost (συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον) falls very short of the precise definitions of the Council of the year 381, we must conclude that the symbol before us was not composed by that Council. It represents certainly a readjustment of the symbol used at Jerusalem about the middle of the 4th century — the symbol that can be gathered from St. Cyril's Catechetical Discourses;¹⁴⁴ but whether it is, properly speaking, the symbol of Jerusalem or of Constantia, or of some other church, cannot be satisfactorily determined.

On July 30, 381, Theodosius confirmed the decisions of the Council, which were also sanctioned by two other Councils held at Constantinople in the years 382 and 383, and by a Council held at Rome in the year 382. As to the Council itself of the year 381, it was acknowledged as ecumenical in the East about the year 451 and in the West during the 6th century. Agreement regarding faith at last had been reached. Some scholars (Harnack, Loofs) have claimed that this was obtained by means of a misunderstanding or an equivocation, and that the Fathers of Constantinople had interpreted the Nicæan formula and especially the *ὁμοούσιος* otherwise than those of Nicæa had done, and in the Semi-Arian sense of *ὁμοιούσιος*. This is a point which we shall consider later, when we come to treat of the Cappadocians, whose influence in the present case was paramount. At any rate, while all accepted the same beliefs and formulas, many hearts were still sore and dissatisfied. This is manifest from the precaution which the bishops and Theodosius took not to invite the Pope to the assembly, from the choice of Meletius as president of the Council, from the second and fourth canons, which were really directed against the Patriarch of Alexandria, and chiefly from the third canon, which granted the second rank — Rome holding the first — to the

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *Greek Patrology*, XXXIII, 533 [*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, vol. VII].

see of Constantinople, because it was the see of the *new* Rome. These were as so many seeds of schism that were germinating in the hearts of the Orientals, and the young Constantinople was to stand up *by the side of* the old metropolis of the West, till the day came when she was to stand *against* her.

The events which have just been briefly related, mark the end of Arianism within the boundaries of the official Empire. But the heresy lasted much longer among the Barbarians in whose midst it had spread, and gave rise, on the part of the upholders of orthodoxy, to a controversy which continued into the 6th and 7th centuries. About the year 400, there were still in the Empire Arian Goths, who had embraced the heresy through the preaching of Ulphilas (bishop in the year 341). The Visigoths, who invaded Italy, then Southern Gaul and Spain, remained officially Arian till the Council of Toledo in the year 589; the Suevi, till the year 550, or even later. In Italy, the dominion of the Arian Ostrogoths came to an end only in the year 554. The Lombards embraced the true faith as late as the year 671; the Burgundians, in the year 517, and in the year 533 only, was the power of the heretical and persecuting Vandals brought to an end in Africa. Hence, during the two centuries which followed immediately the Council of Nicæa, there was still a certain number of Anti-Arian writings; but their main points hardly differ from the ideas and teaching insisted on by the early champions of orthodoxy. These ideas and this teaching we shall now examine more closely in their first sources.

CHAPTER III

DOCTRINAL STRUGGLE AGAINST ARIANISM AND MACEDONIANISM — GREEK TRINITARIAN ORTHODOXY DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY

§ 1. Doctrine of St. Athanasius on the Trinity.

THE doctrinal struggle against the Arians was carried on successively by two groups of polemics, which followed each other while remaining distinct. Among the Greek Fathers, St. Athanasius belongs to the first group; so likewise St. Hilary, among the Latin Fathers. The second group comprises especially the Cappadocians — St. Basil and the two Sts. Gregory and also several theologians of less importance, such as Didymus the Blind and St. Epiphanius. The first group defines ideas and elaborates doctrine; the second definitely fixes terminology and concludes the discussion. We shall speak first of St. Athanasius.

Arius had started his theory of the Logos and of the relations of the Logos to God, with the idea of the divine transcendence and creation; St. Athanasius starts his theory with the concept of redemption. According to Arius, God cannot communicate His substance; therefore the Logos, who is produced, cannot be God; for St. Athanasius, the Incarnate Word is, above all, a redeemer, and this redemption, through which man is deified and becomes the child of God, consists in the union of our nature with the divine nature in the person of Jesus Christ. Jesus is truly God, for, unless He Himself is, really and by nature, God and

Son of God, He cannot deify us and raise us even to an adoptive divine sonship. St. Athanasius comes back to this argument again and again: "Were [the Word] by participation, and not in Himself, Godhead and the Father's substantial image, He could not deify [others], since He Himself would be deified."¹ This new point of view brings into relief the concept "Son" and throws into the background the philosophical concept "Word": the divine personality of the Logos is no longer accounted for by His demiurgic function. No doubt, Athanasius holds that, in fact, the Son was the organ of creation;² but he adds also that, in principle and absolutely, this was not necessary; for if God cannot immediately create, neither can the Word, who is of the same nature as the Father, create; and if the Word has been created, God who has created Him, can, then, create immediately and of Himself.³

These general principles may suffice to give us the main direction of the theology of St. Athanasius.

God is one: He is an indivisible monad; there is but one supreme principle, one supreme *monarchy* (μίαν ἀρχὴν οἶδαμεν).⁴ On the other hand, we know that the Son is really distinct from the Father.⁵ Hence, in order to preserve God's unity, shall we exclude the Son from the divine substance, or, in order to preserve the Son's divinity, shall we place Him in the divine substance; and if we do so, how account for the continuance of the divine unity? This is the essence of the whole mystery.

No more than Arius, does Athanasius conceive of a Word

¹ "Ὅθεν εἰ ἦν ἐκ μετουσίας καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ μὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὐσιώδης θεότης καὶ εἰκὼν τοῦ πατρὸς, οὐκ ἂν ἐθεοποίησε, θεοποιούμενος καὶ αὐτός (*De synodis*, 51; *Cont. arianos*, I, 16, 39; II, 69).

² *De decretis*, 30; *C. arianos*, II, 40.

³ *C. arianos*, II, 24, 25.

⁴ *C. arianos*, III, 15.

⁵ *C. arianos*, III, 4.

whose nature would be intermediate, and who would be, according to the Philonian view, neither God nor a creature. Between God and creatures, there is a chasm; but, whereas Arius places the Logos on that side of the chasm which is contiguous to creation, Athanasius places him unhesitatingly on the side of God. The Word is not created: He is begotten. To beget is to produce a perfect likeness of oneself, and to communicate all that is in oneself — one's substance, nature and glory, and this is the way in which the Father produces the Son.

Is this generation voluntary on the part of God? Yes and no: yes, because this generation is not against His will, nor forced upon Him by a higher law; no, because it is not the outcome of His deliberation and free will. The Father wills and loves the Son, just as necessarily as He wills and loves Himself, and therefore the Father begets the Son both necessarily and willingly.⁶

This generation, then, is eternal. The Father has always been Father, and the name Father, taken by itself, implies the existence of the Son; for it is only in a broad sense that God is the Father of creatures;⁷ and in this place Athanasius does not fail to recall the comparison of the light that cannot but shine, and of the spring that cannot but flow: — comparisons so familiar to the school of Alexandria. Hence He who is the image, reflection and brightness of the Father, God of God, and without whom the Father would be *ἄσοφος καὶ ἄλογος*,⁸ exists from all eternity.

Thus eternally begotten, the Son is of the Father's substance, *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός*. Athanasius deems these Nicæan words, which condemn the blasphemies of Arius, absolutely essential.⁹ Yet, although He is of the Father's

⁶ *C. arianos*, I, 16; III, 62, 66.

⁷ *C. arianos*, II, 41; III, 6; *De decretis*, 30.

⁸ *C. arianos*, I, 14, 25, 27; III, 66; *De decretis*, 12, 15.

⁹ *De decretis*, 19, 23; *De synodis*, 41, 48.

substance, the Son is not a portion of the Father: unlike what takes place in human generation, the Father's substance has not been divided: "God, being without parts, is Father of the Son, without partition or passion."¹⁰

From this Athanasius draws two conclusions: first, the Son possesses in Himself the whole substance of the Father; since this substance has been communicated to Him, and since, besides, it cannot be divided, He must of necessity have received it in its fulness.¹¹ Secondly, there can be only one Son, since, taken by Himself, He suffices to exhaust the Father's fecundity.¹² These two conclusions sap the very foundations of subordinationism: the Son is all that the Father is, except that one begets, and the other is begotten. These conclusions on the contrary involve the consubstantial: the Son is *ὁμοούσιος* to the Father. Athanasius discards the expression *ὅμοιος*, first because it designates a mere accidental and external resemblance, and may apply to beings of different kinds, as a dog and a wolf, a piece of tin and a piece of silver; then, because it does not signify that the similar being comes from the being which it resembles.¹³ The word that expresses the similarity of nature is *ὁμοφύης*. The word *ὁμοιούσιος*, then, is ill-constructed; for to say of something that it is *ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν* to another, is to speak of its substance as though its substance were a mere attribute or accident; at any rate, it is to declare that this substance is participated (*ἐκ μετουσίᾳς*);¹⁴ and should some one be bent on making use of that formula — and

¹⁰ *De decretis*, II; cf. *C. arianos*, I, 28.

¹¹ Οὐκ ἐκ μέρους δὲ ἡ τῆς θεότητος μορφή, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητός ἐστι τὸ εἶναι τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ ὅλος θεός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός (*C. arianos*, III, 6; I, 16; II, 24).

¹² *De decretis*, II: Ἀπλοῦς δὲ ὢν (ὁ πατήρ) τὴν φύσιν, ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου τοῦ υἱοῦ πατὴρ ἐστι.

¹³ *De synodis*, 41, 53.

¹⁴ *De synodis*, 53.

Athanasius himself did not shrink from using it at times ¹⁵—he ought to add the *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας*, and insist on the unity which the *ὅμοιος* seems to deny.¹⁶ The word *ὁμοούσιος* has none of these drawbacks, for it means both that the two beings to which it is applied have one and the same substance, and that one draws its origin from the other.¹⁷ Although no one must be a slave of words, but rather see the meaning given to words, it must be granted that the Fathers of Nicæa did well in introducing the word *ὁμοούσιος* into the language of the Church: they could not have chosen a better word.¹⁸

In what precise meaning does St. Athanasius use it? Some historians have suggested that, after using it first in the strict meaning of the numerical unity of the substance of the Father and the Son, the Bishop of Alexandria had, from about the year 359 till the end of his life, given up this rigid view and almost identified unconsciously the meaning of the word *ὁμοούσιος* with that of the word *ὁμοιούσιος*.¹⁹ This is a mistake. It is true that in the *De synodis*, a conciliatory document which was composed during the year 359, St. Athanasius makes advances to the Semi-Arians: he shows them that their principles, if consistently followed, must lead them to admit what is implied in “consubstantial;” he also declares that the Orthodox will pay more attention to the substance of their doctrine than to their formulas; but, on the other hand, he yields none of the points defined by the Council of Nicæa, nothing of what is the whole truth. He writes in the *Oratio* III that, while the Son, inasmuch as He is the offspring, is *ἕτερος* from the

¹⁵ *De decretis*, 20; *De synodis*, 45.

¹⁶ *De synodis*, 41.

¹⁷ *De synodis*, 41.

¹⁸ *De synodis*, 41.

¹⁹ GUMMERUS, *Die homousianische Partei bis zum Tode des Konstantius*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 162, foll. HARNACK, *Lehrb. der DG.*, II, p. 261, and *Hist. of Dogma*, vol. IV, p. 12.

Father, He is, as God, ταῦτόν with Him; that "the Father and the Son are one in propriety and peculiarity of nature, and in the identity of the one Godhead" (τῇ ταυτότητι τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος); that we must profess that between them there is ταυτότητα τῆς θεότητος, τὴν δὲ ἐνότητα τῆς οὐσίας (3, 4). The same expressions are used in the *De decretis*, 23, 24, and these expressions are not abandoned by Athanasius in the *De synodis*. On the contrary, he states that, when alluding to the substance, one must speak of παντότης, not of ὁμοιότης (53: thus παντότης τῆς οὐσίας is the equivalent of ὁμοούσια);²⁰ that one must absolutely believe in the unity of the Father and of the Son as regards the substance: κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν νοεῖν καὶ τὴν υἱοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἐνότητα — οὐσία ἓν ἐστὶν αὐτὸς (ὁ λόγος) καὶ ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ (48); and lastly, that, unlike what occurs in human generation, there is in the generation of the Father no division of substance: the Father communicates His whole essence (41). Loofs goes farther. He thinks that the more St. Athanasius advanced in age, the more firmly he became attached to the Nicæan meaning of the ὁμοούσιος: what it is difficult to discern distinctly in his last writings, is not the unity of God, but the trinity of the divine Persons.²¹

These are the great outlines of the doctrine of St. Athanasius concerning the Son. The leading idea, the germ of his whole teaching, is the thought that the Word is Son, and the Son of God. While endeavoring to know the Son by Himself, we must never separate Him from the Father: He cannot be separated from the Father.²² Since He is the

²⁰ We may notice that in their assembly of the year 358, the Semi-Arians of Ancyra had condemned, in their XIXth anathema, the παντούσιον together with the ὁμοούσιον.

²¹ F. LOOFS, *Leitfaden zum Studium der DG.*, 4th edit., p. 241. Cf. G. RASNEUR, *L'homoiousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie*, in *Revue d'hist. ecclésiast.*, IV (1903), p. 426-431.

²² C. arianos, III, 28.

Father's substantial image and likeness, we can ascertain what He is only by placing Him together with the principle which begets Him and which is reproduced in Him. He is the Son. Being Son He is numerically distinct from the Father; but being Son He is of the same substance as the Father, and He is of the same substance absolutely as the Father because the substance that is communicated to Him being God, cannot suffer division or diminution. It is with serene intrepidity that Athanasius formulates these incomprehensible mysteries, the manifold obscurity of which his mind does not try to penetrate, but which he realizes are the necessary consequence of the most certain articles of Revelation.

His teaching on the subject of the Holy Ghost is no less full than that on the Son. It is found complete in his Ist, IIIrd and IVth letters to Serapion. The Holy Doctor bases the divinity of the Holy Spirit on Scripture (I, 4-6, 26), on ecclesiastical preaching and tradition (I, 28) and on the working of the Holy Ghost in our souls. A sanctifying principle cannot be of the same nature as those whom it sanctifies; the Spirit that vivifies creatures cannot be a creature (I, 23). Since the Holy Ghost deifies us and, through His dwelling within us, makes us partakers of the divine nature, He Himself, then, is God by His very essence: *Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐν οἷς γίνεται (τὸ πνεῦμα) οὗτοι θεοποι-οῦνται· εἰ δὲ θεοποιεῖ, οὐκ ἀμφίβολον ὅτι ἡ τούτου φύσις θεοῦ ἐστι* (I, 24). Besides, there is a still more simple proof, and it is this: since, on one hand, the Trinity is homogeneous, and since, which is certain, the Holy Spirit is a part of it, He is not created, He is God, He is of the same substance as the Father and the Son; He is their *ὁμοούσιος* (I, 2, 17, 20, 27).

However, the pretension of the *tropicists* to deny the divinity of the Holy Ghost, while affirming that of the Son, leads Athanasius to study the relations between the Son and

the Holy Ghost. First, the Holy Ghost is the Spirit of the Son, His "sanctifying and illuminating power, which is said to proceed from the Father (ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι), because the Son, who comes from the Father, makes it shine, sends it and imparts it" (I, 20). Nay, as the Son is, in the strict sense, of the Father's substance, so likewise the Spirit, who is in the Son and in whom the Son is, is, in the same sense, that of the Son: "Since the Son, because He belongs to the Father, is, properly speaking, of His substance, it must needs be that the Spirit, who is said to be of God, is also the Son's own substance" (ἴδιον εἶναι κατ' οὐσίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ, I, 25, 20, 21; cf. III, 2). The Holy Ghost, then, is properly and in His intimate being, the Spirit of the Son, His breath, closely depending upon Him. What He possesses, belongs also to the Son: ἃ ἔχει (τὸ πνεῦμα) τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐστίν (III, 1). In the previous passages, the author comes close to the idea that the Spirit receives His being from the Son; he *does* reach this idea, when he remarks that the Holy Ghost receives from the Son, and that He is not the bond that joins the Son to the Father, but that, on the contrary, as He Himself exists in the Word, He is in God through the latter.²³ "As the Son says: *All things whatsoever the Father hath, are mine*, so we shall find that all this is in the Spirit through the Son: ταῦτα πάντα διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ εὐρήσομεν ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι" (III, 1). With the person of the Holy Ghost, the Trinity is complete and perfect.²⁴ Like the terms of which it is made up, this Trinity is eternal: it has not been formed successively, and it has ever been perfect and entire. Nor does it consist of elements that have not the same nature, and are unequal in glory: Μὴ γένοιτο! Οὐκ ἔστι γενητὴ ἡ Τριάς· ἀλλ' αἰδιος καὶ μία θεότης ἐστὶν ἐν Τριάδι, καὶ μία δόξα τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος.²⁵ — Τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος μία ἡ θεότης καὶ πίστις ἐστίν.²⁶

²³ C. arianos, III, 24; *Epist. ad Serapion*, III, 5.

²⁴ *Epist. ad Serapion*, I, 25.

²⁵ C. arianos, I, 18.

²⁶ *Epist. ad Serapion*, I, 16.

The Trinitarian teaching of Athanasius was destined to become that of the Greek Church; but it was first to receive important additions both in its terminology and in its theory of the divine Persons and of their relations. It is to the Father alone that St. Athanasius ascribed preëminently the name God: ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς θεὸς κηρύσσεται, ὁ τοῦ λόγου πατήρ.²⁷ Nay, although he does not condemn, in the Council held at Alexandria in the year 362, those who speak of a μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, until the end of his life, he personally identifies the two terms οὐσία and ὑπόστασις;²⁸ he even writes, about the year 369, in the *Epistula ad Afros*, 4: 'Ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις οὐσία ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σημαινόμενον ἔχει ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν; moreover, as he avoids also the use of the word πρόσωπον, it follows that his vocabulary has no term to designate person. Besides, he did not study what in itself constitutes the divine Persons, nor how they are distinct and how differentiated, one from another, nor how we can, by means of remote analogies, represent to ourselves the mysterious operations which give them their being. A polemist always in the heat of the battle, Athanasius had neither the leisure nor, probably, the taste to treat these questions of profound religious philosophy. His Trinitarian teaching, then, is incomplete; the Cappadocians are to supply this defect, in large measure.

§ 2. Doctrine of the Cappadocians on the Trinity.

From the Trinitarian point of view, the chief work of the Cappadocians consisted in bringing back to the Church the group of the Semi-Arians, and determining once for all

²⁷ *Epist. ad Epictetum*, 9.

²⁸ *De decretis*, 27; *De synodis*, 41; *Tomus ad Antioch.*, 6. On the other hand, he distinguishes οὐσία from φύσις. The latter word designates the collection of all the properties and qualities of the substance, which flow from it. Hence the expression κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, for instance in *C. arianos*, I, 29; *De synodis*, 45; *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, 6.

the orthodox Greek terminology. They were in a position to accomplish this task with success, from the twofold circumstance that they had been, in varying degrees, disciples of Origen, and that they lived in the midst of those dissenters whom they were to win over to the true faith. But this twofold circumstance, which brought them close to their opponents, has also led some recent scholars to charge them with doctrinal inaccuracy: they have been represented as *neo-Nicæans*, who must not at all be identified with the *primitive* Nicæans — such as Athanasius, Eustathius, Hosius,— who agreed with them only apparently and in words: these charges we are to examine.

As has been said already, Athanasius and the Fathers of the Council of Nicæa had identified the meaning of *οὐσία* with that of *ὑπόστασις*; in this they had followed the West, which naturally saw in the word *substantia* the literal translation of *ὑπόστασις*.²⁹ The Arians and Semi-Arians, on the contrary, as well as the disciples of Origen, who followed in this in the footsteps of their master, gave to *ὑπόστασις* the sense of *person*, and looked upon the expression *μία ὑπόστασις* as a Sabellian formula. This, of course, was a mere question of words, which, however, had to be finally settled, that misunderstandings might be removed.

What is an *οὐσία*, and what is an *ὑπόστασις*? Do these two words signify the same thing, and if they do not, in what do the objects for which they stand differ?

St. Basil takes up directly the problem in his XXXVIIIth letter to St. Gregory of Nyssa. *Οὐσία* is that which is common to the individuals of the same species (*τὸ κοινόν*), and that which all equally possess, that on account of which all are designated by the same word, while this word designates

²⁹ One can see from the XVth and XVIIth letters of St. Jerome to what difficulties the formula *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις* gave rise in the West.

no particular individual (2).³⁰ But this οὐσία cannot really exist, unless it is completed and determined by some individuating characters. These characters have received various names: they are called ιδιότητες, ιδιώματα, ιδιαζόντα σημεῖα, ἴδια γνωρίσματα, χαρακτήρες, μορφαί (3, 4).³¹ If we add these individuating characters to an οὐσία, we have an ὑπόστασις. An hypostasis is a determined individual, which exists apart by itself, and which comprises and possesses an οὐσία, although it is opposed to it, as the proper to the common, the particular to the general: Οὐσία δὲ καὶ ὑπόστασις, St. Basil writes, ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἣν ἔχει τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον, οἷον ὡς ἔχει τὸ ζῶον πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα ἄνθρωπον;³² and again: "The hypostasis is not the indefinite conception of substance, which, because what is signified is general, finds no 'standing,' but the conception which by means of the expressed peculiarities, gives *standing* and circumscription to the general and uncircumscribed."³³

We may observe that this definition is incomplete, and that it seems to identify too closely hypostasis with individual substance, with the individual, and to make the individual characters the constituent elements of a personality. Nevertheless, it contains the most important word, the τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον which, after it has been closely analyzed, will yield, as it were, the complete notion of hypostasis. The divine οὐσία is not in itself an hypostasis, because, although it is individual, it does not exist separately by itself, but in the Persons who have it in common. The divine Persons,

³⁰ Considered in itself, it is defined by St. Basil, in his *Adversus Eunom.*, I, 10, αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι. In God it is the intimate being, in opposition to His attributes (φύσις) and to His personal modes (ὑπόστασις).

³¹ Cf. *Adv. Eunomium*, II, 28.

³² *Epist.* CCXXXVI, 6.

³³ *Epist.* XXXVIII, 3 [*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, vol. VIII, pp. 137-138].

on the contrary, oppose one another and therefore each has a distinct existence, which does not admit of being confounded; they have nothing in common, except the οὐσία. According to the expression of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, they are "perfect, self-existent, numerically distinct, but not separate in Godhead": *μίαν φύσιν ἐν τρισὶν ιδιότησι, νοεραῖς, τελείαις, καθ' ἑαυτὰς ὑφεστώσαις, ἀριθμῷ διαιρεταῖς καὶ οὐ διαιρεταῖς θεότητι*.³⁴

The Cappadocians, then, declared explicitly in favor of the Origenist distinction between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, and were successful in winning recognition for their view. As to the use of the word *πρόσωπον*, Basil was more reserved: he did not admit that it could be looked upon as synonymous with ὑπόστασις, because, as was claimed by the Sabellians, one hypostasis could play three parts.³⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, on the contrary, held that it could be used in connection with the Trinity, provided the meaning of a mere personage of tragedy or comedy were entirely set aside.³⁶

There are then in God, three hypostases, each one of which is opposed to the other two by its own special characters. For St. Gregory of Nazianzus, these characters are respectively ἀγεννησία, γεννησία or γέννησις and ἐκπόρευσις or ἑκπεμψις.³⁷ St. Basil agrees with his friend regarding the first two;³⁸ as regards the third, their agreement is not perfect. According to St. Basil, the γνωριστικὸν σημεῖον of the Holy Ghost consists in His being known after the Son and with the Son, and in holding His substance from the Father,³⁹ whereas, for St. Gregory of Nyssa, it consists in

³⁴ *Oratio* XXXIII, 16 [*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, vol. VII, p. 334].

³⁵ *Epist.* CCXXXVI, 6.

³⁶ *Oratio* XLII, 16.

³⁷ *Oratio* XXV, 16; XXIX, 2; XXXI, 29.

³⁸ *Epist.* XXXVIII, 4-6; CXXV, 3; *Homilia* XV, 2.

³⁹ *Epist.* XXXVIII, 4.

His coming from the Father through the Son.⁴⁰ However, St. Gregory of Nazianzus owns that one cannot state with precision in what the ἐκπόρευσις of the Holy Ghost differs from the generation of the Son.⁴¹ What is certain is merely this: the distinctive characters of the divine Persons, the *notions*, are involved in the origin of these divine Persons and in their mutual opposition; ⁴² and it is in this sense, St. Basil writes, that we say that the Father is greater than the Son, not because He is so by nature, but because we conceive ideally the principle as superior to what flows from it.⁴³

This primacy of the Father is strongly maintained and affirmed in the Cappadocian theology. The Father is the principle of the Trinity, the bond which, through the communication of His nature, makes the unity of the Trinity.⁴⁴ He is πηγή, ἀρχή, αἰτία τῆς θεότητος, τὸ αἴτιον, κυρίως θεός: the two other terms are αἰτιατά, and are derived from the Father.⁴⁵

The Son is eternally begotten of the Father, not made from the outside, but born of His substance, without any division of this substance, like a light which is perfect on departing from its source, and leaves it intact.⁴⁶ He is consubstantial with the Father.

As to the Holy Ghost, St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nyssa

⁴⁰ *Quod non sint tres dii* (P. G., XLV, 133). Cf. BASIL, *Adv. Eunomium*, III, 6.

⁴¹ *Oratio* XXXIX, 12; XXIII, 11; XXXI, 8.

⁴² BASIL, *Adv. Eunomium*, I, 45; GREG. NAZ., *Oratio* XXXI, 9; GREG. NYSS., *Quod non sint tres dii* (P. G., XLV, 133).

⁴³ *Adv. Eunomium*, I, 20.

⁴⁴ It must be observed that, although they do not confound the two words οὐσία and φύσις, yet, when speaking of God, the Cappadocians prefer to use φύσις instead of οὐσία, because, unlike the Eunomians, they look upon God's intimate being as beyond access and comprehension. Cf. BASIL, *Adv. Eunomium*, I, 13, 14.

⁴⁵ GREG. NAZ., *Oratio* XLII, 15; XX, 7; GREG. NYSS., *De communibus notionibus* (P. G., XLV, 180).

⁴⁶ BASIL, *Homilia* XXIV, 4.

have both devoted to Him a special treatise, and besides, the XXXIst discourse of St. Gregory of Nazianzus bears on the same subject. Prompted by a scruple of mere policy, and anxious not to run counter to the opponents he intended to win over, St. Basil, in his treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*, while proving the divinity of the Holy Ghost all through the treatise, has avoided calling Him God.⁴⁷ But elsewhere, he is less cautious. Although He is third in order, the Holy Ghost, he says, has the same essence as the Father and the Son: He must be conceived as with them (*συναριθμῆσθαι*), and not below them (*ὑπαριθμῆσθαι*); He must be honored with them, and not as inferior to them; He is *ὁμοούσιος* with the Father and the Son; He is God.⁴⁸ Gregory of Nyssa repeats this doctrine;⁴⁹ and Gregory of Nazianzus adorns it with all the charms of his eloquence. On his arrival at Constantinople in the year 379, the latter had met with a confused mass of erroneous views regarding the Holy Spirit.⁵⁰ He fully realizes both the obstacles he has to overcome to do away with all these errors, and also in general the difficulties a Christian orator encounters in speaking of the Holy Ghost, on account of the relative silence of Scripture on this subject. Gregory explains this silence by the progressive character of the economy of Revelation. The Old Testament has manifested chiefly the Father; the New Testament has manifested the Son, but it has spoken of the Holy Spirit only in obscure terms (*ὑπέδειξε*). This Holy Ghost, which dwells in us, now reveals Himself more clearly. Thus the Trinity unveils itself

⁴⁷ For this he was blamed by the rigid Orthodox, and St. Gregory of Nazianzus had to justify his friend (*Orat.* XLI, 6; XLIII, 68).

⁴⁸ *Adv. Eunomium*, III, 1; *De Spiritu Sancto*, 41-47, 58-64, 71-75; *Epist.* VIII, 2, 3, 10, 11.

⁴⁹ See his treatise *De Spiritu Sancto adv. pneumatomachos*, P. G., XLV, 1301, foll.

⁵⁰ *Oratio* XXXI, 5.

gradually, and there is going on in the Church a process of enlightenment.⁵¹ "What then, is the Spirit God? — Most certainly. — Is He then consubstantial? — Yes, since He is God."⁵² This is the proposition which the Holy Doctor is bent on proving all through his discourse; and with this purpose in view, he takes special delight in appealing often to the Christian experience of his hearers. The Holy Spirit deifies us in baptism: He is, then, to be adored; and, if He is to be adored, is He not God? ⁵³

Later on we shall set forth the views of the Cappadocians regarding the special question of the procession of the Holy Ghost. From what has been said, it follows that they admit in God three Persons, who are really distinct and mutually consubstantial, each one of them being God. These Fathers add that between the divine Persons there is unity of substance, operation, will, knowledge and action,⁵⁴ that they are equally to be adored, and that none is inferior to the others, because in God there is neither more nor less:⁵⁵ *Ἐν τὰ τρία τῇ θεότητι, καὶ τὸ ἐν τρία ταῖς ιδιότησιν.*⁵⁶

But it is at this precise point that we are confronted with objections. The Cappadocians hold the consubstantiality of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: this — we are told — is true in appearance; but in reality they do not give to the word *ὁμοούσιος* the same meaning as the Council of Nicæa and St. Athanasius. These neo-Nicæans are disciples of Origen, who have lived in the midst of the Semi-Arians and have freely associated with them. In their

⁵¹ *Oratio XXXI*, 26, 27.

⁵² *Oratio XXXI*, 10: *τί οὖν; θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα; — Πάνυ γε. — τί οὖν, ὁμοούσιον; — Εἴπερ θεός.*

⁵³ *Oratio XXXI*, 28.

⁵⁴ GREG. NAZ., *Oratio X*, 7; and cf. *infra*.

⁵⁵ BASIL, *Epist.* LII, 2; GREG. NAZ., *Oratio XXXI*, 9, 10, 14, 28; XXIX, 2.

⁵⁶ GREG. NAZ., *Oratio XXXI*, 9; cf. *Oratio XXVIII*, 31; XXXIX, 11, 12; BASIL, *Epist.* XXXVIII, 4; GREG. NYSS., *Oratio catechetica*, 1.

eagerness to bring these back to orthodoxy and also under the influence of their previous theological formation, they have twisted the primitive *ὁμοούσιος* into the sense of *ὁμοιούσιος*. True, they obtained for the word chosen by the Council of Nicæa the sanction of the Council of Constantinople in the year 381; but it is the view of Basil of Ancyra which, after all, really triumphed under cover of this word. The Cappadocians, and the Greek Church which followed them, are Semi-Arians who speak the language of Nicæa.⁵⁷

In reply to this view, let us make first a general remark. The mystery of the Trinity is the mystery of one God in three Persons, the mystery of one identical nature existing in three hypostases which are really distinct. The whole mystery lies in the difficulty, nay the impossibility of our understanding both this unity in this plurality and this plurality in this unity. Hence, if one lays down first the unity of the substance, one must of necessity find it difficult afterwards to account for the trinity of persons, and must seemingly abandon it; on the contrary, if one lays down first the trinity of the persons, one shall assuredly find it difficult to explain the unity of substance and will seem to surrender it. In the former case, one apparently inclines to Sabellianism; in the latter, to Tritheism. From the point of view with which we are concerned here, it is precisely in this wherein, beginning with the 4th century, lies the whole difference between the Western and the Greek theology. The former insists on the divine substantial unity and posits it in the first place. First, there is one only God, one only

⁵⁷ This is the view of HARNACK, *Lehrb. der DG.*, II, 261, foll. and *Hist. of Dog.*, vol. IV, p. 84 and foll. LOOFS, *Leitfaden*, 4th edit., p. 257, foll. SEEBERG, *Lehrb. der DG.*, I, p. 187, foll. GWATKIN, *Studies of Arianism*, 2d edit., pp. 247, 270. It has been refuted by J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER, *The Meaning of homoousios in the Constantinopolitan Creed (Texts and Studies)*, Cambridge, 1901. See also G. RASNEUR, *L'homoiousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. IV, 1903.

divine substance, which subsists in three Persons. The Nicæan formula, which comes really from the Latins, sanctions this conception of the dogma. On the contrary, Greek theology, under Origen's influence, is bent on preserving the distinction of persons and therefore gives that aspect of the doctrine the place of prominence. There is no concrete divine substance distinct from or prior to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost: there is a Father, a Son and a Holy Ghost, who have one and the same substance. Between these two dogmatic conceptions is there a real opposition? No: both are true, but only on condition of not being exclusive, *i. e.*, fundamentally, of acknowledging the mystery and of avoiding both Sabellianism and Tritheism. So, after all, the manner in which they present the Trinitarian doctrine has very little to do with the orthodoxy of the Cappadocians, so long as they strongly maintain both the numerical unity of substance in God—*i. e.*, the unity of God⁵⁸—and the real distinction of the three divine Persons. It was natural, however, that the early Nicæans should insist on the first of these two truths, which was jeopardized by Arius and the Eusebians; and that the neo-Nicæans should insist on the second, which was the necessary complement of the first, and was opposed by the Semi-Arians. This does not prove that the former or the latter

⁵⁸ This was not done by the Semi-Arians; and if *they* failed to realize the consequences of their system, it is useless for us to share their illusion: the *ὁμοιούσιος* leads necessarily to Tritheism. "*Ὅμοιος* does not express numerical identity, but resemblance. If then the Son is not, as to His concrete substance and His intimate being as God, *ὁμος* with the Father, but only *ὅμοιος*, it is evident that the concrete divinity and the intimate being of the Son are not identically the concrete divinity and the intimate being of the Father; the Father and the Son are numerically distinct as Gods, just as they are distinct as hypostases; there are two Gods. We may recall these words of the Semi-Arian document preserved by St. Epiphanius, *Haer.* LXXIII, 17, 18: Οὐ ταυτὸν δὲ ἀλλ' ὅμοιον διότι τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ.

ignored the truth which they threw into the background, nor that the Cappadocians were tritheists, and Athanasius and Eustathius, Sabellians.

As a matter of fact, the Cappadocians, like the early Nicæans, most emphatically proclaimed the numerical unity of God and the identity of the concrete divine substance in the three Persons of the Trinity. "Confess only one οὐσία in both (the Father and the Son), so as not to fall into polytheism."⁵⁹ "As the Father is substance, the Son is substance, and the Holy Ghost is substance, and there are not three substances, so likewise the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and there are not three Gods. For God is one and the same, even though each one of the three Persons is called a subsisting substance and God."⁶⁰ In these passages, the numerical unity of the οὐσία is given as the condition of monotheism, and contrasted with the distinction of persons.

For St. Basil in particular, it is true that he accepted, in his IXth letter, 3, the ὁμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν, provided the word ἀπαραλλάκτως, i. e., *without any difference*, be added; but this was because, in this particular case, he deemed the whole expression equivalent to ὁμοούσιος, which, besides, he preferred.⁶¹ Likewise he said that human persons are ὁμοούσιοι, inasmuch as they have a common (abstract) οὐσία;⁶² but it must be observed that, when he speaks of God, he does not understand the word ὁμοούσιος in the sense of that abstract and generic unity. On the contrary, he rejects absolutely the concept of a superior essence which the Father

⁵⁹ BASIL, *Homilia* XXIV, 3.

⁶⁰ GREG. NYSS., *De communibus notionibus*, P. G., XLV, 177.

⁶¹ The argument which some have attempted to adduce in opposition to our position from letters CCCLXI-CCCLXIV of St. Basil has no value: these letters are apocryphal (BETHUNE-BAKER, *Op. cit.*, p. 38, note 2; G. VOISIN, *L'Apollinarisme*, p. 237, foll.; LIETZMANN, *Apollinaris von Laodicea*, pp. 20, 21).

⁶² *Epist.* XXXVIII, 2.

and the Son would share. Since He is the first principle of the Trinity, the Father communicates to the Son His own substance, but fully and without division.⁶³ In his XXXVIIIth letter to St. Gregory of Nyssa, Basil insists on the unity of nature of the three divine Persons. There is between them perfect community (τινα συνεχῇ καὶ ἀδιάσπαστον κοινωνίαν); the mind cannot conceive between them any space or any void; their substance forms a continuous whole which is not broken by even the least cleavage. Whoever grasps intellectually the Father, grasps also the Son, and with the Son, the Holy Ghost; and whoever understands the Holy Ghost, understands also those of whom He is the Spirit. They are like a chain whose links cannot be broken, or like the rainbow, whose colors blend so well together that we cannot say where any one begins and where it ends. The Father is similar to a body from which it is impossible, except by abstraction, to separate its form, in this comparison, representing the Son (4, 5, 7). In his CLXXXIXth letter, 6, the Holy Doctor tries to prove, from the unity of their action, the unity of nature of the three divine Persons: ἀνάγχη τῇ ταυτότητι τῆς ἐνέργειας τὸ ἡνωμένον τῆς φύσεως συλλογίζεσθαι. This he does in n. 7, and in n. 8, he concludes: "If the word *Godhead* designates the action, just as we say that the action of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost is one (μία), so we say that their Godhead is one (μίαν φάμεν εἶναι τὴν θεότητα). If, however, as is more commonly supposed, the word *Godhead* designates the nature, then, since there is no variation in the nature, we shall reasonably affirm that the Holy Trinity is of one Godhead (μίας θεότητος)." And in his VIIIth letter, 3: "In accordance with the true doctrine, we speak of the Son, as neither like, nor unlike the Father, for each one of these terms is equally repugnant. 'Like' and 'unlike' are predi-

⁶³ *Homilia* XXIV, 4.

cated in relation to [accidental] quality, and God is free from such quality. We, on the contrary, confessing the identity of the nature (ταυτότητα τῆς φύσεως), accept the ὁμοούσιος and avoid adding [by way of composition] to the Father who is God in substance, the begotten Son who is also God in substance; for this is what is meant by the ὁμοούσιος." Again: "The Father is God, the Son is God, and yet they are not two Gods, because [as God] the Son is identical with the Father (ἐπειδὴ ταυτότητα ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα). . . . While confessing the Father and the Son, we confess also the identity of their substance (τὸ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ταυτόν)." ⁶⁴

Regarding the numerical unity of the Father and of the Son—a unity signified by the word ὁμοούσιος—one could hardly find more categorical testimony than these words of St. Basil. This first fact, once established, forms also a kind of prejudice in favor of St. Gregory of Nyssa, who was always so anxious to follow in his brother's footsteps. His case, however, is somewhat more difficult, because of his excessive Platonism which seems at first sight to compromise the orthodoxy of his teaching.⁶⁵ But this is only in appearance. In fact, he observes that the virtue or power by which the three divine Persons act, is one and not threefold (μία ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχὶ τρεῖς), because, unlike three men who produce the same effect, they do not act independently of one another.⁶⁶ He observes also that the characteristic of

⁶⁴ *Homilia XXIV*, 3, 4.

⁶⁵ In the *Quod non sint tres dii* (col. 117, foll.), he claims that, as we say one God, and not three Gods, because the οὐσία of the three Persons is but one, so also we should say logically that Peter, Paul and Barnabas are, not three men, but one man, since they have a common οὐσία. The Bishop of Nyssa seems to forget that the divine οὐσία cannot but be concrete, whereas the human οὐσία can be either abstract or concrete. Now the human οὐσία is common to all men, inasmuch as it is abstract, and on the contrary the word *man*, which is a concrete term, designates that οὐσία as concrete.

⁶⁶ *Quod non sint tres dii*, col. 125-129.

Christianity is to be equi-distant from Judaism and polytheism, avoiding the teaching of the former on the oneness of the divine Person, and that of the latter on the plurality of gods, and thus maintaining the indivisibility and numerical unity of the divinity.⁶⁷ Finally, he dwells on the fact that the divine οὐσία is not divided nor distributed between the πρόσωπα, and that, therefore, while there are three πρόσωπα, there are *not* three οὐσiai.⁶⁸ St. Gregory of Nyssa has evidently in mind not the abstract οὐσία, but the concrete and living substance of the three Persons.

As regards St. Gregory of Nazianzus, there is no doubt that he took the ὁμοούσιος in the strict sense of an absolute identity of substance. In his XXXIst discourse, 15, 16, he refutes the objection that endeavored to infer tritheism from the trinity of the Persons; for, some said, the pagan divine unity did not exclude polytheism; the unity of mankind is no obstacle to the existence of many different men. But these are, he answers, merely conventional unities: the divine unity, as held by the heathen, was only a hierarchical unity; the unity of mankind exists really only in our minds (ἐπινολία). The case is not at all the same with the unity of the Persons in God: "Each of the Persons possesses unity, not less with that which is united to it than with itself, because of the identity of substance and power (τῷ ταὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως)." The Son is, as regards the Father, ταὐτὸν κατ' οὐσίαν.⁶⁹ The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are distinct as to number, but not as to the divinity (ἀριθμῷ διαιρεταῖς, καὶ οὐ διαιρεταῖς θεότητι).⁷⁰ There is diversity in number, not division of substance.⁷¹ Finally, the formula already quoted is given: "὘ν τὰ τρία τῇ θεότητι, καὶ τὸ ἐν τρία ταῖς ιδιότησιν."⁷²

⁶⁷ *Oratio catechetica*, I, 3; *Quod non sint tres dii*, col. 132, 133.

⁶⁸ *De communibus notionibus*, P. G., XLV, 177.

⁶⁹ *Oratio* XXX, 20.

⁷¹ *Oratio* XXIX, 2.

⁷⁰ *Oratio* XXXIII, 16.

⁷² *Oratio* XXXI, 9.

To say the least, therefore, those scholars who represent the Cappadocians as professing, essentially, Semi-Arianism, overrate considerably some difficulties of minor importance. The Cappadocians are in fact genuine Nicæans, who continue the work and teaching of Athanasius. The belief for which they won recognition at Constantinople is that which had been defined in the year 325, and this belief has become the belief of the Greek Church. In God three hypostases, only one substance, only one God: the three hypostases included, as it were, one in the other (circumincession), and having only one action, as well as only one knowledge and only one will; these three Persons, moreover, equal and equally adorable: the Father unbegotten, source of the Trinity; the Son, eternally begotten; the Holy Ghost proceeding eternally from the Father through the Son: the three Persons, consubstantial: these are the great outlines of the teaching to which subsequent ages will add complements of secondary importance. Some complements of this kind are already found in St. Gregory of Nazianzus. His XXIII^d discourse, 6, 8, 11, presents, on the subject of God's intimate fecundity as compared with His action *ad extra*, and on the relations between the divine Persons and man's faculties (νοῦς, λόγος, πνεῦμα), suggestions which the Holy Doctor does not advance without some misgiving, for he knows that such comparisons are necessarily inadequate and may lead into error:⁷³ but these same suggestions will be taken up and fully developed by subsequent theologians.

However, in this summary of the Trinitarian teaching of the Cappadocians, there is a point of which so far nothing has been said in this volume, and which has now to be treated apart, for it was destined to exercise the sagacity of theologians and give rise to warm controversies. I refer to the procession of the Holy Ghost.

⁷³ *Oratio* XXXI, 31-33.

§ 3. The Question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost.⁷⁴

That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father is a truth which the Greek Church has ever held and which she explicitly professed in the 4th century. The Father is the source of the Trinity, and consequently the principle of the other Persons. But it might be asked, as had been done already, whether some part, and, if so, what part, was to be ascribed to the Son in that production. Besides, this part might be conceived in various ways, either as purely intermediary, whereby the Father's substance, communicated to the Son, is communicated to the Holy Ghost — somewhat like a conduit which receives the water from the spring and transmits it to the reservoir into which it flows — or as that of a dynamic principle which has a share in the Father's active fecundity and produces, with Him and under Him, the Holy Ghost.

As we have seen above, St. Athanasius holds manifestly the common view according to which the being of the Holy Ghost comes immediately from the Son. St. Cyril of Jerusalem is of the same mind: "The Father gives to the Son, and the Son shares with the Holy Ghost. Πατήρ μὲν δίδωσιν υἱὸν καὶ υἱὸς μεταδίδωσιν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι."⁷⁵ While St. Basil does not give to these views a definite expression, he states them with more precision. The Holy Spirit comes from the Father; He is the breath of His mouth, as it were,⁷⁶ but also "the natural goodness and the inherent holiness and the royal dignity extend from the Father through the Only-begotten to the Spirit (ἐκ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς)."⁷⁷ The Son alone joins the Spirit to the Father.⁷⁸ The Holy

⁷⁴ TH. SCHERMANN, *Die Gottheit des heiligen Geistes nach den griechischen Vätern des IV Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg im Br., 1901.

⁷⁵ *Catechesis* XVI, 24.

⁷⁶ *De Spiritu Sancto*, 46, 38; cf. *Epist.* XXXVIII, 4.

⁷⁷ *De Spiritu Sancto*, 47.

⁷⁸ *Id.*, 45.

Ghost has with the Son that relation which the Son has with the Father: 'Ὡς τοίνυν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα • οὕτω πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τὸ πνεῦμα.⁷⁹ He is the Spirit of the Son, His proper Spirit (ἰδιον), in whom the Son works all things.⁸⁰

St. Gregory of Nazianzus hardly says anything on the subject. An orator who sets forth dogma, he preaches only points that are defined. The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father (ἐκπορεύεται). Precisely because He proceeds from the Father, He is not the Father; and because He proceeds, He is not born, He is not the Son. In what this procession exactly consists, we do not know. Let those who hold a different view, first tell us in what the Father's ἀγεννησία consists, and then we shall tell them in what the γέννησις of the Son and the ἐκπόρευσις of the Holy Spirit consist.⁸¹ As to the relations of origin between the Son and the Holy Ghost, the Holy Doctor hardly mentions them at all.

It is quite otherwise with St. Gregory of Nyssa. At the end of his short treatise *Quod non sint tres dii*,⁸² he observes that what constitutes the distinction of Persons in the Trinity, is their origin, one being the cause (τὸ αἷτιον), the two others being caused (τὸ αἷτιατόν). Those who are caused are not caused, however, in the same way, for one is caused immediately by the Father (προσεχῶς), whereas the other is caused through the intermediary of the one that is caused immediately (διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου); and "there is no doubt that the Son remains the only begotten Son; nor can we doubt that the Spirit comes from the Father, the Son, who is intermediary, not ceasing to be the only begotten Son nor preventing the Spirit from His relation by way of nature to the Father." The author expresses exactly the same idea in his treatise *De Spiritu*

⁷⁹ *Id.*, 43.

⁸⁰ *Epist.* XXXVIII, 4.

⁸¹ *Oratio* XXXI, 7, 8.

⁸² *P. G.*, XLV, col. 133.

Sancto, 3. There he compares the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost to three torches, the first of which imparts its light to the second, and through the second it imparts light to the third.⁸³ In these passages, St. Gregory implies manifestly that, in the production of the Holy Ghost, the Son is, so to speak, an instrument of the Father, an instrument which, while acting, of course, through the power which the Father has communicated to it, acts really; and this is why he remarks with insistence that this communicated causality is in no way detrimental to the Father's causality, and does not interfere with His being the first principle of the Holy Ghost.

This teaching of St. Gregory of Nyssa is destined to remain the teaching of the Greek Church, though some authors will express it later with more distinctness and consistency. In his treatise *De Trinitate*, Didymus the Blind does not go farther than to state that the Holy Spirit "proceeds from the Father and remains divinely in the Son" (I, 31, col. 425). He adds, however, that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son, as the Son is the image of the Father (II, 5, col. 504); that He is the Spirit of the Son, of the Word, of the Savior (I, 18, col. 348; II, 6, col. 556; III, 1, col. 780). But in the treatise *De Spiritu Sancto* — of which it is but fair to observe that we have only a Latin translation made by St. Jerome — the author formulates plainly the doctrine of the procession *ex Filio*:

"Non loquetur (Spiritus Sanctus) a semetipso: hoc est non sine me, et sine meo et Patris arbitrio, quia inseparabilis a mea et Patris est voluntate, quia non ex se est sed ex Patre et me est, hoc enim ipsum quod subsistit et loquitur a Patre et me illi est" (34). "Spiritus quoque Sanctus qui est Spiritus veritatis, Spiritusque sapientiae, non potest, Filio loquente, audire

⁸³ Αἰτίαν δὲ τοῦ τρίτου φωτὸς ὑποθώμετα εἶναι τὴν πρώτην φλόγα, ἐκ διαδόσεως διὰ τοῦ μέσου τὸ ἄκρον ἐξάφασαν. P. G., XLV, 1308.

quae nescit, cum hoc ipsum sit quod profertur a Filio, id est procedens a veritate, consolator manans de consolatore, Deus de Deo, Spiritus veritatis procedens" (36). "Neque enim quid aliud est Filius exceptis his quae ei dantur a Patre, neque alia substantia est Spiritus Sancti praeter id quod datur ei a Filio" (37; cf. 38).

Did St. Epiphanius borrow from the Latins his doctrine regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost? This may be the case, for he was in frequent relations with them. At all events, he teaches unquestionably that the Holy Ghost is produced by the Father and by the Son; and even though, when speaking of the relations between the Son and the Holy Ghost, he does not use the word *ἐκπορεύεται* — which, by the way, Scripture also does not use —, he professes distinctly the doctrine expressed by this word, as can be proved by many texts. In the *Ancoratus*, we read that "the Holy Spirit is not Son, but of the substance itself of the Father and of the Son" (*ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ*, 7). He is represented as *ἐν μέσῳ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ*, *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ* (8). He is God *ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ* (9). "Christ is held to be of the Father, God of God: the Holy Ghost is of Christ, or of both, as Christ says: *He proceeds from the Father and shall receive of me*" (67, 70, 73). The Father is the light (*φῶς ὅλος*), the Son *φῶς ἐκ φωτός*; the Holy Ghost, *φῶς τρίτον παρὰ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ* (71).⁸⁴ As there are adoptive sons, so also there are spirits by adoption and by calling; "but the Holy Ghost alone, as coming from the Father and the Son (*ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ*), is called the Spirit of truth, and the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of grace" (72). We find the same language in the Holy Doctor's work on Heresies: there we read: *ἐκ πατρὸς δὲ ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ λαμβάνον, οὐκ αλλότριον πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς θεότητος, ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ*,

⁸⁴ Cf. *Haer.* LXXIV, 8.

ἐνυπόστατον ἀεὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον . . . πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, πνεῦμα πατρός (LXII, 4); again: "God is all life, the Son is ζωὴ ἐκ ζωῆς; but God is spirit also, and the Holy Ghost is πνεῦμα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων, πνεῦμα ἐκ πνεύματος" (LXXIV, 7). Our readers will not fail to notice that, in these texts, the particle διὰ disappears, and the Holy Ghost is affirmed to come from the Father *and* from the Son; the distinction between the activity of the two *spirators* in relation to the production of the Holy Ghost is designated by the two expressions ἐκπορεύεται and λαμβάνει.

Hence we shall make no mistake, in affirming that, in the last quarter of the 4th century, Greek theology tends unequivocally towards the doctrine of the *Filioque*, and that some of its representatives explicitly hold this doctrine. Likewise, we see this doctrine presented in the works of St. Gregory of Nyssa in a way which emphasizes above all the principal fecundity of the Father, and in the works of St. Epiphanius in a way which is more similar to the Latin conception. These two conceptions did not exclude each other; however, as we shall see later, the Greek Church chose the Cappadocian idea, for it agreed better with her general concept of the Trinity.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHRISTOLOGICAL HERESY OF THE FOURTH CENTURY — APOLLINARIANISM

1. Doctrine of Apollinaris and of his disciples.¹

THE Trinitarian controversy had hardly entered into its last period, when Apollinaris arose to direct Christian minds to another problem which was to hold their attention for several centuries, that is the Christological problem.

Bishop of Laodicea, as early as the year 362, or even 360, Apollinaris the Younger fought, with Athanasius and the Cappadocians, the good fight against Arianism, and was, in his lifetime, looked upon as one of the best and most profound theologians the Church ever had. This reputation he deserves at least on account of the vigor and precision with which he states questions and answers them — rightly or wrongly. Except the many fragments quoted in the *Catenae* or in the writings of his opponents, all his dogmatic works were thought to have perished. Several of these

¹ Sources: The dogmatic writings of Apollinaris and his disciples, quoted according to the edition of H. LIETZMANN, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*, I, Tübingen, 1904. The anonymous work *Contra Apollinarium* (373-377), P. G., XXVI, 1903, foll. ST. EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.* LXXVII. ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium* (P. G., XLV); *Ad Theophilum κατὰ Ἀπολλινάριον* (*ibid.*). ST. BASIL, *Epist.* CXXIX, CCLXIII. ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Epist.* CI, CII, CCII. THEODORET, *Eranistes*, Dial. V; *Haeretic. fabul. compendium*, IV, 8. ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonitorium*, 12. The histories of SOCRATES and SOZOMEN, and the acts of the Councils after 362.— Works: J. DRAESEKE, *Apollinarios von Laodicea*, Leipzig, 1892. G. VOISIN, *L'Apollinarisme*, Louvain, 1901. H. LIETZMANN, *op. cit.*

works, however, have been recently found, disguised by his disciples at an early date under the venerated names of Athanasius, Pope Julius and Gregory Thaumaturgus, so as to save them from destruction. Of course, these writings are the first source to be consulted in ascertaining his real sentiments. Then, we find also very important details concerning him in the works of his contemporaries — the Cappadocians, St. Epiphanius, the author of the *Contra Apollinarium* which has been ascribed to St. Athanasius,— the works of Theodoret, Socrates and Sozomen, and in the acts of the Councils of the 4th and 5th centuries. We can thus obtain a fairly good idea of Apollinaris' theological views during the second half of the 4th century.

How did he come to express them? It seems that it was through opposition to the views of Diodorus of Tarsus, who was at that time the leader of the school of Antioch,² and became, as is well known, the precursor of Nestorius. The father of Apollinaris — called Apollinaris the Elder — had come from Alexandria, and this enables us to understand his son's attitude in these questions, in spite of the fact that the son was Bishop of Laodicea and therefore a close neighbor of Antioch. Apollinaris is above all anxious to affirm and maintain the perfect unity of Jesus Christ, for the sake of soteriology. A God alone could save us: man was unequal to such a task, both on account of the inferiority of his nature and of the weakness of his will.³ Hence a God must be born, suffer and die for us; but this could not take place unless the divinity and the humanity in Jesus were one, and constituted but one nature, performing both the human and the divine works.

These are the principles; we come now to their applica-

² A few fragments of two works of Apollinaris against Diodorus are still extant (LIETZMANN, pp. 235-242; cf. p. 142 and foll.).

³ Fragm. 93: Οὐ δύναται σώζειν τὸν κόσμον ὁ ἄνθρωπος μένων καὶ τῇ κοινῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φθορᾷ ὑποκείμενος.

tion. Can this requisite unity really exist in Jesus Christ, if we suppose that the Word takes, in the Incarnation, a complete humanity and associates a man unto Himself, as Diodorus said? Of course, not: two beings complete in themselves cannot become one: δύο τέλεια ἐν γενέσθαι οὐ δύναται.⁴ If God, who is perfect, unites to Himself a perfect man (τέλειος τελείῳ), there are two Sons of God, one by nature (φύσει), the other by adoption (θετός):⁵ there are two πρόσωπα, God and the man whom He assumes;⁶ and this is falling into the error of the Paulianists, who distinguish this God and this man as ἄλλος and ἄλλος,⁷ and who look upon Jesus Christ only as a man ἐνθεος.⁸ We have no longer an incarnation properly so called, but the mere juxtaposition of God and of a man,⁹ of a person who must be adored and of another who must not be adored.¹⁰

Hence the humanity taken by the Word was not, nor could it have been complete. Which of its elements is to be set aside? Evidently that which compromised the unity of the whole, and the work itself of redemption,—the free and intelligent soul; for, if there exist in the same being two intelligent and free principles, these two principles must of necessity enter into conflict and follow their respective directions.¹¹ Nay, where there is human reasoning, there must be sin also: ἀδύνατον δέ ἐστιν ἐν λογισμοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους ἁμαρτίαν μὴ εἶναι.¹² The flesh must be united to an unchangeable

⁴ *Contra Apollinarium*, I, 2.

⁵ *Fragm.* 81.

⁶ *Fragm.* 67.

⁷ *Epist. ad Dionysium*, I; LIETZM., p. 257.

⁸ *Fragm.* 14.

⁹ *Fragm.* 92.

¹⁰ *Fragm.* 9.

¹¹ *Fragm.* 2: 'Αδύνατον γὰρ δύο νοερά καὶ θελητικά ἐν τῷ ἅμα κατοικεῖν, εἶνα μὴ τὸ ἕτερον κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀντιστρατεύηται, διὰ τῆς οἰκείας θελήσεως καὶ ἐνεργείας. Cf. *fragm.* 150.

¹² *Contra Apollinarium*, II, 6, 8; I, 2.

(*ἄρπετρος*) spirit, which would possess the gift of prescience so as not to be under the slavery of the flesh, and would be able, without violence, to harmonize the body with itself.¹³ On the other hand, it cannot be held that the humanity of Jesus, first free, lost its freedom through its union with the Word, for the Creator does not destroy nature, which is His work.¹⁴

The conclusion, then, is forced upon us. The Word did not take a complete human nature; He did not take the intelligent and free soul. Nay, it seems that Apollinaris — a dichotomist — first denied in Jesus Christ the existence of even an animal soul. Socrates¹⁵ affirms positively that he taught this doctrine at first; but, later on, at any rate before the year 374, the Bishop of Laodicea modified this point of his teaching, and as he had become a trichotomist,¹⁶ declared that the humanity of Jesus Christ consisted of a body (*σῶμα*) and of an animal soul (*ψυχή*), the Word Himself being its *νοῦς* and its *πνεῦμα*: “Since Christ,” he writes, “has God for *πνεῦμα*, *i. e.*, for *νοῦς*, with a *ψυχή*, and a body, He is rightly called a heavenly man.”¹⁷ The Word, then, did not unite unto Himself a human soul: He united to Himself only the seed of Abraham; and of this offspring of Abraham He Himself is the spirit.¹⁸

The first consequence of this view is that the Incarnation is not an *ἐνανθρωπήσις*, but a *σάρκωσις*: Jesus Christ is *θεὸς σαρκωθείς*;¹⁹ His humanity is not consubstantial with ours;²⁰ between them, there is not *ὁμοούσια*, but *ὁμοίωμα* only.²¹

¹³ Fragm. 76.

¹⁴ Fragm. 87.

¹⁵ *Hist. eccl.*, II, 46; RUFINUS, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 20.

¹⁶ Fragm. 88; cf. fragm. 23 and 89.

¹⁷ Fragm. 25.

¹⁸ Fragm. 2; THEODORET, *Haeret. fabul. comp.*, IV, 8.

¹⁹ Ἡ κατὰ μέρος πλῆσις, 30, LIETZM., p. 178 and *passim*. However the expression *θεὸς ἐνανθρωπήσας* is also found, though seldom.

²⁰ Cf. GREG. NYSS., *Antirrheticus*, 33.

²¹ Fragm. 69.

True, Apollinaris, and later on his disciples claimed that they kept the word *ὑμοούσια*; ²² but they applied it to the corporeal and animal part of our humanity and of that of the Savior.

The second consequence is that we are saved through Jesus' body united to the Word, but without any merit on its part, since it is neither free nor capable of virtue.²³ Apollinaris holds, fundamentally, the principle which is to be later on often brought up against him, namely, that that only was redeemed which was assumed by the Word. Hence he accounts for the salvation of our body by the death of Jesus Christ; but, as to the soul, he declares that it will be saved by following the example of Jesus and becoming like unto Him.²⁴ Such an admission was certainly disastrous for the system of Apollinaris.

A third consequence of that system — and indeed the chief consequence, since the whole system was built upon it — is the unity of nature in Jesus Christ. Since the Word is united to the flesh as the soul is to the body, there are in Jesus neither two persons, nor even two natures (*οὐ δύο πρόσωπα, οὐδὲ δύο φύσεις*),²⁵ but one single nature (*μία φύσις*) and one single substance (*μία οὐσία*).²⁶ The flesh is not something adventitious and accidentally added (*ἐπίκτητος*) to the divinity, but *συνουσιωμένη καὶ σύμφυτος* with it.²⁷ Here, however, we must look at the matter more closely. Apollinaris does not mean to say that there has been a transformation of one of the two natures into the other, nor that the two natures have blended so as to form a new nature: on the contrary he writes: *φύσει μὲν θεὸν καὶ φύσει ἄνθρωπον τὸν*

²² *De unione*, 8, LIETZM., p. 188.

²³ Fragm. 76.

²⁴ Fragm. 74.

²⁵ *Ἡ κατὰ μέρος πλῆσις*, 31, LIETZM., p. 179

²⁶ Fragm. 117, 119.

²⁷ Fragm. 36.

κύριον λέγομεν; ²⁸ but, according to him, the Word, a nature complete in itself before the Incarnation, unites unto Himself, through the Incarnation, a body which "does not constitute a nature by itself; for it does not live by itself, and it cannot be separated from the Word by whom it is vivified." ²⁹ The ἄσαρκος divine nature of the Word becomes σεσαρκωμένη. First it was simple, it becomes σύνθετος, σύγκρατος: there is no *other* new nature, but a former nature existing *in another way* through the addition of a new element. Hence the following formulas, the first of which was destined to become quite famous: Μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη.³⁰ Ὁ αὐτὸς (Χριστὸς) ἐν μονότητι συγκράτου φύσεως θεϊκῆς σεσαρκωμένης.³¹ In order to explain his meaning, Apollinaris often has recourse to the union of the body and the soul. True, this comparison may enable us to conceive how the divinity and the body form only one nature, although they remain distinct, but it would be adequate only if we supposed the soul to preëxist as a nature complete in itself and not needing, for its being, the body to which it is united.

From the unity of nature Apollinaris inferred legitimately the unity of the term of our adoration in Jesus Christ, and also the unity of this adoration: μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην καὶ προσκυνουμένην μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ μιᾷ προσκυνήσει; ³² he inferred, also legitimately, the communication of idioms; ³³ but what he inferred chiefly was the unity of will and operation in Jesus Christ: Monophysitism already gave rise to Monothelitism. As has been said before, the

²⁸ Fragg. 149.

²⁹ *Epist. ad Dionysium*, 8, LIETZM., p. 259.

³⁰ *Ad Iovianum*, I, LIETZM., p. 251.

³¹ Fragg. 9, p. 206.

³² *Ad Iovianum*, I, LIETZM., p. 251; Fragg. 119, p. 236.

³³ The *Epist. ad Iovianum* and the treatise *De unione* dwell principally on this question. For the use of θεοτόκος especially, see *Ad Iovianum*, I (p. 251); *De fide et incarnatione*, 3, 6 (pp. 195, 198).

Bishop of Laodicea did not look upon the co-existence of two principles of free activity in one being as possible. Hence "we confess," he says, "the Christ as one, and because of this unity, we adore in Him only one nature, one will, one operation" (*μίαν ὡς ἐνὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν τε φύσιν, καὶ τὴν θέλησιν, καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν προσκυνοῦμεν*).³⁴ This activity and this will reside in the Word: He is the mover (*τὸ κινοῦν*); the flesh is the organ and that which is moved (*ὄργανον*), and thus out of the mover and the moved body there results but one agent: *Οὕτω γὰρ ἐν ζῶον ἐκ κινουμένου καὶ κινητικοῦ συνίστατο, καὶ οὐ δύο ἢ ἐκ δύο τελείων καὶ αὐτοκινήτων*.³⁵ This Aristotelian theory of the *movens* and the *mobile*, applied to the Word Incarnate, was destined to be very common among the disciples of Apollinaris. When writing to Polemon, Julian, one of them, conceitedly reminds him that their master had been the first and the only one to explain by this theory the mystery which so far no one had seized.³⁶

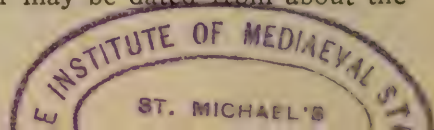
These, then, are the fundamental errors of Apollinaris: the unity of nature and, consequently, of activity, the absence of an intelligent and free soul in Jesus. These errors brought on secondary errors, but they gave also to the opponents of Apollinaris the opportunity to represent him as the author of still other errors which he does not seem to have held, and of which we must say a few words. These misrepresentations may be accounted for by his bold equivocal language, and also by the diverse interpretations which his disciples gave to his teaching, even during his lifetime. We may judge from the letter of St. Athanasius to Epictetus (2),³⁷ what confusions arose in this regard; and St. Epiphanius (*Haer.* LXXVII, 2, cf. 33), who wrote about

³⁴ Fragm. 151, p. 248.

³⁵ Fragm. 107, 117 (pp. 232, 235).

³⁶ LIETZM., p. 277.

³⁷ *P. G.*, XXVI, 1049, foll. The letter may be dated from about the year 371. We shall speak of it later.



the year 377, is careful to observe that he does not accept all the opinions ascribed to Apollinaris as really held by him.

Thus, it is untrue that the Bishop of Laodicea taught the preëxistence of the body of Jesus, that he deemed that body of divine origin, that he looked upon the Virgin merely as a channel through which that body had passed, and lastly that he saw in the Incarnation an eternal state, and in the birth of the Savior the mere manifestation of a permanent mystery. The texts and particularly the 32d fragment, on which St. Gregory of Nyssa³⁸ bases these charges, have not the meaning which he assigns to them, and must be understood in a strictly Apollinarist sense. To mention only one instance, Apollinaris expressly affirms that the Son of God is ἐκ γυναικὸς κατὰ σάρκα.³⁹

This is also the case with the charge of Theopaschitism, brought against our author by St. Gregory of Nyssa.⁴⁰ Apollinaris undoubtedly ascribed to the Christ God the death of His humanity: Ἀὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀπέθανε, he used to say, for the death of man cannot destroy death.⁴¹ But in doing this, he merely pushed to the extreme the theory of the communication of idioms, and remained consistent with his system. Considered in itself, the single nature of the Word Incarnate could not suffer, but it could suffer as σεσαρκωμένη. This is the language used by the upholders of orthodoxy regarding the single person of the Word, which they admit in Christ.

The same also must be said of the accusation of subordinationism.⁴² We know that Apollinaris was a resolute

³⁸ *Antirrheticus*, 12, 13, 15, 18, 24-26. Cf. GREG. NAZ., *Epist.* CCII, and SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 27.

³⁹ *Ad Dionysium*, 7, LIETZM., p. 259.

⁴⁰ *Antirrheticus*, 5, cf. 51; GREG. NAZ., *Epist.* CCII; SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 27.

⁴¹ *Fragm.* 95, p. 229.

⁴² GREG. NAZ., *Epist.* CI, 16; GREG. NYSS., *Antirrheticus*, 26; THEODORET, *Haeret. fabul.*, IV, 8.

Nicæan: but while the exaggerated union which he claimed existed between the Word and the flesh, increased the dignity of the latter, it seemed to diminish that of the former. Under the influence of this idea, the Bishop of Laodicea would write words like these: "Christ is mediator between God and man; He is neither altogether man nor altogether God, but a mixture of God and man."⁴³ He would be led also to ascribe to the Word the passions and infirmities of the flesh. No wonder that some prejudiced opponents deemed him not altogether free from Semi-Arianism.

As to the reproach of Millenarianism, even of narrow and gross Millenarianism, St. Epiphanius, who treats with the greatest regard the person of Apollinaris, refuses, it is true, to regard it as established;⁴⁴ but St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzus state it very plainly, and it agrees so well with the literalism of Apollinaris' exegesis,⁴⁵ that we may look upon it as well founded.

The preceding exposition may give some idea of the doctrine of the Bishop of Laodicea. Soon we shall see how this doctrine was received by the official Church. Meanwhile, we may observe that, owing to his reputation for learning, he had before long many disciples. St. Basil attests that very few of those who read his writings did not fall under his influence, and St. Epiphanius affirms that his followers disturbed the East considerably with their erroneous views.⁴⁶

However, the master's teaching was not interpreted in the same way by all his disciples.

The earliest document we have on the subject of Apollinarianism, the *Tomus ad Antiochenos* (362), merely men-

⁴³ Fragm. 113, p. 234.

⁴⁴ *Haer.* LXXVII, 37.

⁴⁵ BASIL, *Epist.* CCLXIII, 4; CCLXV, 2; GREG. NAZ., *Epist.* CII, 4.

⁴⁶ BASIL, *Epist.* CCLXIII, 4; EPIPHANIUS, *Haer.* LXXVII, 2.

tions, in n. 7, the doctrine of Apollinaris on the absence of a soul in Jesus Christ; but, in the approval he gives to this document, Paulinus of Antioch speaks, in n. 11, of wicked men who maintain that, in the Incarnation, the Word has undergone a change, a *μεταβολή*. The letter of Athanasius to Epictetus, written about the year 371, is more explicit. Some commentaries (*ὑπομνήματα*), *i. e.*, some writings, most of which are, of course, Apollinarian, have been circulated among the Christian community of Corinth and there have given rise to disturbances. Bishop Epictetus sends to Athanasius the collection of these writings and begs him at the same time to say what he thinks of them. Athanasius condemns them with horror, and in n. 2 of his answer, sums up their errors as follows:

“What lower region has dared to make the statement that the body born of Mary is consubstantial (*ὁμοούσιος*) with the Godhead of the Word? or that the Word has been changed into flesh, bones, hair, and the whole body, and altered from its own nature? Or who ever heard in the Church, or even among Christians, that the Lord wore a body in appearance, not in nature (*θέσει καὶ οὐ φύσει*)? Who ever went so far in impiety as to say and hold that this Godhead, which is consubstantial with the Father, was circumcised and became imperfect instead of perfect; and that what hung upon the tree was not the body, but the very substance of the creative wisdom? Or who that hears that the Word transformed for Himself a passible body, not of Mary, but of His own essence, could call him who said this, a Christian? Or who devised this abominable impiety, for it to enter even his imagination, and for him to say that to pronounce the Lord's body to be of Mary is to hold a tetrad instead of a triad in the Godhead, as though those who think thus would mean to say that the body of the Savior which He put on from Mary, is of the essence of the Triad? Or whence again have certain dared to pronounce an impiety as great as those already mentioned, saying namely,

that the body is not newer than the Godhead of the Word, but was co-eternal with it always, since it was compounded of the essence of wisdom? Or how did men called Christians venture even to doubt that the Lord, who proceeded from Mary is by nature and essence Son of God, and also, according to the flesh of the seed of David and of the flesh of the Holy Mary? Or who have been so venturesome as to say that Christ who suffered in the flesh and was crucified, is not Lord, Savior, God and Son of the Father? Or how can they wish to be called Christians who say that the Word has descended upon a holy man as upon one of the prophets, and has not Himself become man, taking the body from Mary; but that Christ is one person, while the Word of God, who before Mary and before the ages was Son of the Father, is another? Or how can they be Christians who say that the Son is one, and the Word of God another?"

The reader will notice that, immediately after the Monophysite errors pointed out by St. Athanasius in the first part of this text, a certain number of Nestorian and Adoptianist errors are also mentioned. It does not follow that, in the collection sent by Epictetus to the Patriarch, there were writings that professed Nestorianism. Athanasius may have found these views stated and refuted with precision by the Apollinarian documents.

In any case, we witness in the present instance the diversity of the singular notions which were grafted upon the teaching of Apollinaris, as early as the year 371 or thereabout. These same notions are mentioned, about the years 373-377, by the author of the two books *Contra Apollinarium* — with the remarks, too, that the dissenters do not agree among themselves. Again, they are noted, about the year 377, by St. Epiphanius, who had heard them from the lips of the heretics themselves. Some, he says (*Haer.* LXXVII, 2), went so far as to pretend that Christ had brought His body from Heaven; others denied that He had

taken a soul; others, too, did not hesitate to affirm that Christ's body was consubstantial with the divinity. Further on, the Bishop of Constantia mentions other errors also. Some disciples of Apollinaris even claimed that Christ's divinity had suffered (τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα πεπονθυῖαν, 33); others, that, after the birth of Jesus, Mary had had intercourse with Joseph (37). Probably also some professed Millenarianism, since St. Epiphanius takes the trouble of refuting them on this point (37). Lastly, the Holy Doctor insists on the strange pleasure which all those babblers take in raising all sorts of puerile and even unbecoming questions concerning the person of Christ (15 *et seq.*). Decadent Scholasticism had already found its precursors.

If, after these general statements, we come to definite schools and persons, we find as one of the first disciples of Apollinaris, one, too, of the most faithful to the master's doctrine, Bishop Vitalis or Vitalius (Βιτάλιος or Οὐιτάλιος). First a priest of Antioch, he was called to Rome, about the year 375, to answer the accusations brought against him, and succeeded but imperfectly in clearing himself. After his return to Antioch, he openly stated his views, was ordained bishop of the dissenters, and a short while after, about the year 376,⁴⁷ had with St. Epiphanius a conference which the Saint has recorded (*Haer.* LXXVII, 21-25). Vitalis acknowledged that Jesus was a perfect man; that He was truly born of the Virgin and had a soul (ψυχὴν), but not a human intelligence (νοῦν). He was promptly condemned by Damasus, perhaps in the Council of Rome in the year 377.⁴⁸ There is still extant a fragment of a work of his, on faith.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ According to Lietzmann, this interview took place before the journey to Rome, in the year 374 (pp. 15, 16).

⁴⁸ GREG. NAZ., *Epist.* CII, 5.

⁴⁹ LIETZM., p. 273.

After Vitalis, the best known of the disciples of Apollinaris seem to be divided into two schools: the school of the synousiasts and that of the moderate Apollinarians.

The former draw rigorously the consequences of the teaching of Apollinaris, and do not hesitate to depart from the received language of the Church, nor to speak disparagingly of her authorized doctors, Athanasius, the Cappadocians and the Popes. They proclaim, together with the absolute unity of the will and active principle, the unity of substance and of nature in Jesus Christ, *συνουσίωσις*. The flesh is consubstantial with the divinity, not indeed in this sense — as has been at times imputed to them — that one of the two elements has been transformed into the other, or that, from the combination of the two elements, one substance has resulted, but in this sense, that “the flesh of the Lord, although it does not cease to be flesh even during the union, and although its own nature is not changed, shares in the names and properties of the Word; just as the Word, while remaining Word and God in the Incarnation, and while not being changed into the nature of the body, shares in the names and properties of the flesh.”⁵⁰ Reduced to these proportions, the *συνουσίωσις* implies, it is true, the unity of nature and substance in Jesus Christ, but not the absurdities that one might suppose at first sight. No wonder, then, that the synousiasts were the most numerous of Apollinaris’ disciples. Their first leader had been a certain Timothy, who first recommended by Athanasius and welcomed at Rome, became later Bishop of Berytus, but subsequently was deposed by Damasus in the Roman synod of the year 377, and finally exiled to Thrace, about the year 388. A few fragments of his works have come down to us.⁵¹ Moreover, even during his lifetime, his authority was

⁵⁰ TIMOTHY, Πρὸς Ὁμόνιον, ap. LIETZM., p. 278.

⁵¹ LIETZM., pp. 277-286.

partly obscured by that of his disciple Polemon, the undaunted defender of Monophysitism.⁵² Next to these two leaders we find also in the same school, some personages of minor importance: Julian, who held an epistolary correspondence with Polemon, Bishop Jobius and Eunomius of Beræa, in Thrace: a few lines from these writers have been also preserved.⁵³

The other Apollinarian party, the moderate party, condemned absolutely the violent language of the synousiasts, as well as their affirmation of consubstantiality between the body of Jesus and His divinity. While striving to explain the Catholic doctors in a sense favorable to its views, it quoted them with praise, and, far from emphasizing and exaggerating the difference between the orthodox doctrine and that of Apollinaris, it endeavored, at least in words, to smooth away these differences. Those who belonged to this moderate school maintained, however, the absence of an intelligent soul and the unity of nature in Jesus Christ, though actually, they explained this unity as a mere unity of person. The best known of these Apollinarians are Valentinus, who seems to have been, in Egypt, the leader of the party, and a bishop, named Homonius, who came out strongly against Timothy.⁵⁴

These disputes seem to have sown disunion among the disciples of Apollinaris about the years 390-400. A few years later, in 428-429, St. Augustine distinguished, in his treatise *De dono perseverantiae*, 67, three groups of Apollinarians: those who did not admit the existence in Jesus Christ of any soul at all; those who denied the existence in

⁵² See the remains of his writings in LIETZM., pp. 273-276; and cf. PHOTIUS, *Codex* 230.

⁵³ LIETZM., pp. 276, 277, 286.

⁵⁴ See what remains of the writings of Valentinus in LIETZM., pp. 287-291; and a few words of Homonius in *Adversus fraudes apollinistarum*, P. G., LXXXVI bis, 1960.

Him of an intelligent soul only, and last, those who claimed that His body had not been taken from the Virgin Mary, but resulted from a change of the Word into the body. This passage does not signify, however, that, at the time of St. Augustine, the Apollinarian party was divided into three groups: the Bishop of Hippo merely reproduces here a piece of information derived from St. Epiphanius on the errors of dissenters in general. In reality, there were always but two parties or rather two tendencies among the disciples of Apollinaris: the tendency of the synousiasts and that of the moderate Apollinarians.

§ 2. Condemnation of Apollinarianism.

The history of Apollinarianism is closely bound up with that of the last period of the Arian controversy, and the same Councils have often condemned both heresies. Lietzmann dates from the year 352 the beginning of the Apollinarian disturbance;⁵⁵ but there is no sign of it till the year 362, in the Council of Alexandria. There, in the course of the discussions concerning Arianism, an argument arises among several Fathers of the Council: while some accuse their opponents of separating in Jesus the man from the Word, these charge their accusers with admitting in Him a mere body without soul and intelligence. At last an agreement is reached, and at the express and repeated demands of the other bishops, the two parties, while condemning what is to be Nestorianism, profess that "the Lord had not a body without a soul, nor without sense or intelligence (*ἄψυχον, οὐδ' ἀναίσθητον οὐδ' ἀνόητον*); for it was not possible, when the Lord had become man for us, that His body should be without intelligence (*ἀνόητον*); nor was the salvation effected by the Word in Himself a salvation of body only, but of soul (*ψυχή*) also."⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, XIV.

⁵⁶ *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, 7.

These two parties, which thus accuse each other, are made up, of course, of representatives of the school of Antioch on one hand, and of disciples of Apollinaris, on the other. But of Apollinaris himself no mention is made; and we find the same omission in the letter of Athanasius to Epictetus, about the year 371, and in the two books *Contra Apollinarium* composed in the years 373-377. Notwithstanding the fact that the writings of Apollinaris, such as his *Letter to Jovian* (about the year 363) and his *Letter to Serapion* (about the year 371), must have revealed his real sentiments, the ecclesiastical authorities do not know, or are unwilling to acknowledge that he holds erroneous views on the subject of the Incarnation. His considerable influence and his great reputation for virtue and learning shelter him from these accusations. However, in the year 375, suspicious rumors float abroad concerning his disciple Vitalis, a priest of Antioch, who wishes to join the communion of Bishop Paulinus. Vitalis comes to Rome to clear himself before Damasus, and hands over to the Pope a profession of faith which, while condemning the extreme tendencies of Apollinarianism, dissembles the main point of the error.⁵⁷ Damasus at first is deceived; then, after being better informed, he demands, through Paulinus, that Vitalis should confess that the Son of God took "*corpus, animam, sensum id est integrum Adam, et, ut expressius dicam, totum veterem nostrum sine peccato hominem.*"⁵⁸ This Vitalis refuses to do. Then it is that Apollinaris consecrates him bishop of Antioch for his followers (376). Shortly after, another disciple of Apollinaris, Timothy, is raised likewise to the see of Berytus. The schism is complete.

Henceforth Apollinaris does not disguise his views.

⁵⁷ See in LIETZMANN, p. 273, what remains of that profession of faith.

⁵⁸ *P. L.*, XIII, col. 356.

During the year 377, both St. Epiphanius and St. Basil denounce him as a heretic; the former, with deep regret, in his work on Heresies, the latter, with sternness, in his CCLXIII^d letter to the Occidentals. The official condemnation came soon after. In the year 377, a Council was held in Rome under Damasus. Apollinaris and Timothy were deposed and their doctrine severely censured.⁵⁹ The decree of Damasus expressed even then the fundamental argument which was to be opposed to that teaching: "Quod si utique imperfectus homo susceptus est, imperfectum Dei munus est, imperfecta nostra salus, quia non est totus homo salvatus."

The Papal decision was received and confirmed in the year 378 by a Council of Alexandria, and in the year 379 by a Council of Antioch;⁶⁰ it was ratified by the general Council of Constantinople in the year 381. The Apollinarians are mentioned among the heretics condemned in the first canon of this last Council.⁶¹ In the year 382, another Council was held, and almost immediately after, Damasus forwarded to Paulinus the celebrated *Confessio fidei catholicae*,⁶² of which the seventh anathema is directed against the errors of Apollinaris.

At the same time, the Emperor — then Theodosius — came forward to suppress all heresies, and particularly that of the Apollinarians. In a series of decrees (383, 384, 388),⁶³ these were forbidden to assemble within or outside cities, their bishops, priests and ministers at Constantinople were exiled, new bishops were not to be ordained, and those whom the heretics already possessed, were to be deposed. Yet, in spite of all these rigorous measures, the sect con-

⁵⁹ *Damasi Epist.* II, fragm. II; cf. *Epist.* VII, *P. L.*, XIII, 352, 371.

⁶⁰ RUFINUS, *Hist. eccles.*, II, 20; *P. L.*, XIII, 353.

⁶¹ Cf. above, p. 64.

⁶² *P. L.*, XIII, 358; HAHN, § 199.

⁶³ *P. L.*, XIII, 536.

tinued to exist. However, during the course of the 5th century, it ceased to have an existence of its own: some, most of whom belonged to the moderate party, came back to the Church, although they still entertained views that were somewhat less than orthodox;⁶⁴ others swelled the ranks of the great Eutychian and Monophysite heresy of which Apollinaris had been the precursor.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ THEODORET, *Hist. eccles.*, V, 3.

⁶⁵ Cf. VOISIN, *L'apollinarisme*, p. 129 and foll.

CHAPTER V

DOCTRINAL STRUGGLE AGAINST APOLLINARIANISM — GREEK CHRISTOLOGY DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY

APOLLINARIS was not only condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities; he was also opposed by various writers in certain works to which we have already referred,— the *Contra Apollinarium* of the Pseudo-Athanasius, the *Antirrheticus* of St. Gregory of Nyssa, several letters of St. Gregory of Nazianzus and the *Heresies* of St. Epiphanius, to mention only the most important. These authors questioned the principles on which Apollinaris based his theory: for instance, the principle that two complete beings cannot make a third being,¹ or that the existence of two free principles in the same individual is inconceivable;² or, again, that the presence of human freedom in Jesus Christ would necessarily imply in Him the possibility and actual existence of sin.³ The same authors contested also the value of the Biblical proofs brought forward by the Bishop of Laodicea;⁴ they showed in particular that his theory could explain neither the Incarnation of Jesus, nor the redemption He conferred on mankind, nor even His death and resurrection. The theory which had been devised for a soteriological purpose, was found actually to do away with the

¹ GREG. NYSS., *Antirrhet.*, 39.

² GREG. NYSS., *Antirrhet.*, 45.

³ *Contra Apollinar.*, II, 15; cf. II, 19.

⁴ GREG. NAZ., *Epist.* CI (*P. G.*, XXXVII, 190); *Contra Apollinar.*, II, 1.

basis of Christian soteriology. We shall study more closely the various parts of this argumentation, when we give an account of Greek Christology during the 4th century.⁵

As, in the study of the Trinitarian dogma, it is not the same thing to begin with the unity of the divine substance and then explain the trinity of Persons as to take up first the trinity of the divine Persons and then show their substantial unity; so, in the study of the Christological dogma, it is not the same thing to begin with the single person of the Word, as to take up first the two natures — the divine and the human in Jesus Christ. The latter process was manifestly that of the school of Antioch, and, unless used with caution, it may lead to Nestorianism; the former was that of the school of Alexandria, and of itself it tends to Monophysitism. These extreme consequences, however, one may avoid by using proper qualifications, as St. Athanasius did.⁶

Engrossed as he is in the consideration of the divine Word and of His consubstantiality with the Father, it is not surprising that with Him the Patriarch of Alexandria begins his Christological teaching.

The Word had mercy on us, and, in order to save us, He came down from Heaven and made Himself like unto us. This is why He is called the heavenly man, and also the first-born of every creature and among all His brethren.⁷ But, on taking a body like ours, the Word lost none of His attributes, nor did He give up in any way the exercise of these attributes: "The flesh did not diminish the glory of the Word, God forbid; on the contrary, it was glorified

⁵ As has been remarked before, I leave aside purposely, for the time being, the theories of Diodorus of Tarsus, which will be treated in connection with the Nestorian movement.

⁶ See G. VOISIN, *La doctrine christologique de saint Athanase*, in *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. I (1900), p. 226 and foll.

⁷ *Oratio de incarnatione*, 8; *Contra arianos*, I, 44; II, 52, 62.

by Him; nor, because the Son that was in the form of God took upon Him the form of a servant, was He deprived of His Godhead.”⁸ Although He was enclosed within the body, yet He was elsewhere; although He moved that body, He still made the world feel His action. The flesh limited neither His omnipresence nor His omnipotence.⁹

The *κένωσις*, then, was only external. Let us now consider the humanity assumed by the Word. Since Docetism reappeared, or rather continued to be held here and there, the Fathers of the 4th century had to affirm the reality of the Savior’s body: they had especially to assert, against certain Apollinarian vagaries, that His body came *ex Maria*, and was consubstantial with ours:¹⁰ a consequence which is necessary, St. Basil observes; otherwise: “we who had died in Adam should not have been made alive in Christ; that which had been broken would not have been restored; that which by the serpent’s lie had been estranged from God would not have been reunited to Him.”¹¹

But this argument holds not only for the body of Jesus; it holds also for His whole humanity, the humanity which the Word was to save, and consequently must assume, was ours. It was a humanity made up, like ours, of a body and of a created intelligent soul. Apollinaris denied the existence of this soul in Jesus, and it was to the demonstration of its reality that his opponents applied themselves with special care. The soteriological principle put forward in this demonstration may be summed up in this sentence of St. Gregory of Nazianzus: *Τὸ γὰρ ἀπρόσληπτον ἀθεράπευτον.*

⁸ *Ad Adelphium*, 4.

⁹ *Or. de incarn.*, 17; *Contra arian.*, I, 42.

¹⁰ ATHAN., *Ad Epictetum*, 5, 7; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XII, 3, 13, 23, 24, 31, 33; CHRYSOST., *In Ioann.*, homil. XI, 2; LXIII, 1, 2; AMPHILOCHIUS, fragm. X.

¹¹ *Epist.* CCLXI, 2 [*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, vol. VIII, p. 300].

ὁ δὲ ἡγνῶται τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο καὶ σώζεται.¹² That alone is healed which has been assumed by the Word; that alone is saved, which is united to God. And why? Not only because the work of restoration and cleansing begins in the Incarnation itself, through the contact of our body and soul with the uncreated holiness and immortality, but also, because, according to the remark of the *Contra Apollinarium* (I, 17), Jesus was not to give in ransom one thing for another (ἐτέρον ἀνθ' ἐτέρου), but "a body for a body, a soul for a soul, and a complete being for the whole man." Since then the Word had come to save the soul as well as the body, He must of necessity have taken an intelligent soul; otherwise, our salvation would not have been complete.

This is the fundamental proof. Other proofs are also taken from Scripture (*Matt.* XXVI, 41, *Luke* XXII, 42, *John* XI, 33, XII, 27);¹³ others are drawn from the satisfaction and merits of Jesus Christ: had He been without a soul and without liberty, how could He have merited and satisfied? Others are drawn even from metaphysical considerations. Origen had already taught that the Word had united Himself to the body through the medium of the soul, whose nature is closer to His own nature. The two Gregories take up again this idea and infer that Christ needed a human soul that the Incarnation might be accomplished: "Mind is united to mind, as nearer and more closely related [by nature], and through it to the flesh, [mind] being a mediator between the Godhead and matter."¹⁴

¹² *Epist.* CI, col. 181.

¹³ GREG. NYSS., *Antirrh.*, 32; *Contra Apollin.*, I, 15, 16.

¹⁴ GREG. NAZ., *Epist.* CI, col. 188; cf. *Or.* I, 35, 42; GREG. NYSS., *Antirrh.*, 41. Regarding the existence of a rational soul in Jesus Christ, see also EUSTATHIUS OF ANTIOCH (*P. G.*, XVIII, 685, 689, 694); DIDYMUS, *De trinitate*, III, 4, 21, col. 829, 904; EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus*, 32-35, 76-80.—A difficulty has been raised in connection with St. Athanasius, who has been charged with denying the presence of a hu-

Jesus, then, is a perfect man (ἄνθρωπος τέλειος): hence He is subject — saving sin — to all our infirmities, weaknesses and needs. He has assumed the τὸ ὁμοιοπαθές;¹⁵ He has kept, according to the expression of Didymus, all the consequences of the Incarnation: πᾶσαν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἀκολουθίαν φυλάττων.¹⁶ St. Athanasius, Didymus and St. Cyril of Jerusalem agree on this point with St. John Chrysostom and the Cappadocians.¹⁷ At that time, we do not find as yet the tendency to idealize the humanity of Jesus, — a tendency which will show itself later. But while Jesus shares the human weaknesses that are naturally inherent in the body and in the affective part of the soul, does He share also our intellectual weaknesses? And, if He is not subject to error properly so called, is He not subject, as man, to ignorance?¹⁸ So far this question had not been treated by the Fathers. The Arians were the first to raise it and to give it an answer. They admitted in Jesus a real ignorance, and concluded that the Word was not God, since, according to their system, He held in Jesus the place of the

man soul in Jesus, previously to the Council of Alexandria in the year 362. It is true that there is no explicit testimony on this point in the works which the Holy Doctor wrote before that Council; but, if we notice on one hand that he admits the reality in Jesus, of all the emotions and feelings of fear and sadness recorded in the Gospel, the reality of His growth in wisdom and grace, the reality of His ignorance, as man, regarding the day of judgment, the reality of His sanctification by the Holy Ghost; and on the other, that he reproves absolutely the system of the Arians who presented the Word as the subject of these passions, of this growth, ignorance and sanctification, we must necessarily conclude that St. Athanasius acknowledges in Jesus a rational soul, the subject of all these various affections. See *Contra arianos*, III, 38-40, 43, 51-58, and cf. *Ad Epictetum*, 7.

¹⁵ CYRIL, HIER., *Catech.* XII, 14.

¹⁶ *De trinit.*, III, 21, col. 901.

¹⁷ ATHAN., *Or. de incarn.*, 8; *Contra arianos*, II, 69; III, 34, 56; BASIL, *Epist.* CCLXI, 3; GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XXX, 3; EPIPHAN., *Ancorat.*, 33; CHRYSOST., *In Ioann.*, homil. XI, 2; LXIII, 1, 2; LXVII, 1, 2.

¹⁸ On this question, see C. GORE, *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, London, 1895.

soul. For their Biblical arguments they appealed chiefly to *Mark* XIII, 32; *Matt.* XXIV, 36; *Luke* II, 52, and also to the various passages in which Jesus is said to ask questions, to express wonder or to seem surprised.

The Greek Fathers of the 4th century, in their turn, answered this question in two different ways. Some, like St. Athanasius and St. Gregory of Nyssa, while rejecting the conclusion of the Arians, admit in Jesus as man a real ignorance. The others, while not discarding absolutely this explanation, are inclined to account for the alleged facts by a sort of *economical* ignorance: Jesus said that He did not know things which He did not think opportune to reveal to us, or He manifested His knowledge only gradually and according to circumstances.

Athanasius takes up, in the *Contra arianos*, III, 43-46, the text of *Mark* XIII, 32. The text is as follows: "But of that day or hour no man knows, neither the angels in Heaven, nor the Son, but the Father." The Saint first recalls the objection of the Arians, then he goes on to say: "For us, who love Christ and bear Christ within us, we know that the Word, not as if ignorant, considered as Word, said *I know not* (for He knows), but in order to show His manhood, since to be ignorant belongs to man, and because He had put on a flesh that was ignorant, therefore it was that He said according to the flesh, *I know not*" (45); and more briefly: *ὡς μὲν λόγος γινώσκει, ὡς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἀγνοεῖ* (43, and cf. *Ad Serapionem*, II, 9). It is true that in n. 47, he seems to revoke his statements. He compares the *I know not* of Our Lord to that of St. Paul (2 *Corinth.* XII, 2), who knew, nevertheless, how he had been rapt to heaven. But the author wishes merely to confirm his solution by an *a fortiori*: with this in view, he observes that, rigorously speaking, one may not take literally the Son's ignorance; for, in n. 48, he comes back to his first affirmation, and adds

that Jesus told no lie when He said, as a man, *I know not*: Οὐτε ἐψεύσατο τοῦτο εἰρηκῶς (ἀνθρωπίνως γὰρ εἶπεν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, Οὐκ οἶδα).

St. Athanasius answers in the same way the objection based by the Arians on the questions put by Jesus. The fact of asking a question, he says, does not necessarily imply ignorance on the part of him who does so; and if one claims that Jesus was really ignorant of what He was asking, this ignorance must be referred, not to the Word, but to the humanity.¹⁹ As to the growth in wisdom, of which we read in *St. Luke* II, 52, the Holy Doctor does not hesitate to grant that this growth did take place in Jesus, considered as a man: "To advance in wisdom is not the advance of Wisdom itself, but rather the manhood's (τὸ ἀνθρώπινον) advance in it."²⁰

This last explanation is also that of St. Gregory of Nyssa. As God, Jesus was wisdom itself; but, as man, He received wisdom through participation (ἐκ μετοχῆς), and just as the body attains gradually to its complete development by means of food, so the mind reaches through exercise (δι' ἀσκήσεως) the height of wisdom.²¹ In the *Antirrheticus*, 24, Gregory affirms simply that we must refer to the humanity the ignorance recorded in *Mark* XIII, 32.

These, then, are the authors who do not hesitate to attribute to Jesus, as man, a real ignorance,²² a real progress in wisdom. The others are less affirmative, or even hold a different view altogether. While not repudiating the interpretation of *Mark* XIII, 32, given by St. Athanasius, St. Basil prefers the following: The Father alone, since He

¹⁹ *Contra arianos*, III, 37.

²⁰ *Contra arianos*, III, 54; and cf. 52-54.

²¹ *Antirrhet.*, 28; cf. 14.

²² We may observe that the distinction between the infused and the experimental knowledge had not yet been made. However, see, a few lines below, the reference to St. Epiphanius.

is the first principle of the Trinity, knows the day and the hour of judgment; the Son and the Holy Ghost know this only through communication from the Father; nor would they know it, did not the Father reveal it to them, when producing them.²³ St. Gregory of Nazianzus²⁴ takes note of the two explanations without declaring for either; but it may be that, when he speaks of the ignorant humanity of Jesus, he means, not humanity such as it was in fact in the Savior, but abstract humanity, considered in itself.²⁵ Amphilochius²⁶ and Didymus record also the interpretation preferred by St. Basil: but, after comparing the text of *St. Matthew* XXIV, 36, with that of *St. Mark* XIII, 32, Didymus declares in favor of an *economical* ignorance: ἡμῖν οὖν, φησὶν, ἀγνοῶ, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ.²⁷ This is also the view of St. John Chrysostom,²⁸ and very nearly that of St. Epiphanius. Although the latter does not reject absolutely the view that the ignorance may be attributed to the humanity, he prefers to understand the quotation from St. Mark as referring to an *economical* or even an experimental ignorance.²⁹

The divergence which we notice among the Fathers in writing of the human knowledge of Jesus Christ ceases to exist when they come to speak of His perfect holiness. St. Athanasius discusses this subject especially in his first Discourse against the Arians. Jesus is not only impeccable

²³ *Epist.* CCXXXVI, 1, 2. Moreover, St. Basil seems to admit that Jesus, as man, grew really in wisdom and grace (*ibid.*, 1).

²⁴ *Or.* XXX, 15, 16.

²⁵ Eulogius of Alexandria (PHOTIUS, *Cod.* 230, *P. G.*, CIII, 1084) and St. John of Damascus (*De fide orthodoxa*, III, 21) have interpreted in this sense St. Gregory's words. Here, then, we would have the first outlines of the distinction which St. Gregory the Great was to lay down: Christ is ignorant *ex humanitate*, but not *in humanitate*.

²⁶ *Fragm.* VI; cf. VIII.

²⁷ *De trinit.*, III, 22, col. 917, 920.

²⁸ *In Matthaeum* homil. LXXVII, 1, 2.

²⁹ *Ancoratus*, 32, 38, 78; cf. *Haer.* LXIX, 43, 47.

(51), but He has been especially sanctified and anointed by the Holy Ghost, as is proved from the texts of *St. Luke* III, 21, 22; *St. John* XVII, 19; *Isaias* LXI, 1, and *Psalms* XLIV, 8. This sanctification the Savior, as God, imparted to Himself as man; but He imparted it to Himself that we too might be sanctified: in Jesus the *gratia capitis* is not separated from the *gratia unionis*: αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀγιάζει, ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀγιασθῶμεν (46, 47).

Thus the humanity assumed by the Word is complete in its physical elements. While it has been sanctified through its union with Him, still it has preserved its passibility and weaknesses. But in this union, has it remained what it is in itself, a nature distinct from the nature of the Word? Has it not lost something of its being? Has it not been transformed, in that act which has joined it to the Word? And how must we conceive the bond which makes them — the humanity and the Word — but one? This is the problem to which Apollinaris had given a Monophysite answer, and to which the Fathers of the 4th century had also to give a reply.

This reply they do not give in an explicit nor in a precise manner, nor in the terms which will be adopted by the Councils of the 5th century. Evidently they had at their disposal neither clear-cut definitions nor a fixed terminology. But they state the premises and seize all that is essential. Their concepts are in advance of their formulas, and, while it must be granted that at times they do not express themselves correctly, at least they always think correctly.

First, there is one idea which they agree with Apollinaris in rejecting. It is that, in the Incarnation, there was a change of one of the two elements into the other, or, as it were, a fusion of the divinity and the humanity in order to constitute a third nature. The two adverbs ἀτρέπτως, ἀσυγχύτως, are found already in Didymus the Blind.³⁰ Like-

³⁰ *De trinitate*, III, 6, col. 844; III, 21, col. 901; III, 13, col. 861.

wise St. Epiphanius says that, becoming incarnate, the nature of the Word has suffered no change (μὴ τραπείς τὴν φύσιν);³¹ St. Chrysostom, that He has not been transformed into the body, and that the Incarnation has resulted neither in the confusion of the substances nor in their disappearance (οὐ συγχύσεως γενομένης οὐδὲ ἀφανισμοῦ τῶν οὐσιῶν).³² It was the demands of the Arian controversy that impelled Athanasius and Didymus to uphold that real distinction between the divinity and the humanity after the Incarnation, whereas the Cappadocians and Epiphanius were called upon to do so, by the demands of the Apollinarian controversy. Hence they maintained that, after the union, the Savior is God and man, and that there are in Him two forms (μορφαί, δύο πράγματα),³³ two natures (φύσεις μὲν γάρ δύο, θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος), two different things (ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο):³⁴ "You must distinguish the natures (τὰς φύσεις)," says Amphilochius, "that of God and that of man, nor has Jesus Christ advanced from the nature of man to that of God."³⁵ Again: "Jesus Christ has preserved in Himself (after the resurrection), without confusion and with their respective characteristics, the two heterogeneous natures (τῶν δύο φύσεων τῶν ἑτερουσίων ἀσύγχυτον τὴν ιδιότητα)." ³⁶ "He has assumed," says Epiphanius, "the humanity together with the divinity" (σὺν τῇ θεότητι λαβὼν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα).³⁷ As a consequence, Didymus recognizes in Jesus two wills, the divine and the human.³⁸

Monophysitism, then, is discarded beforehand; so also

³¹ *Ancoratus*, 75.

³² *In Ioann.*, homil. XI, 2.

³³ ATHAN., *Fragm.*, P. G., XXVI, 1256, 1257.

³⁴ GREG. NAZ., *Epist.* CI, col. 180; *Or.* II, 23; EPIPHAN., *Ancoratus*,

116, 117.

³⁵ *Fragm.* XII; cf. *Fragm.* II, VII, XI.

³⁶ *Fragm.* IX.

³⁷ *Ancoratus*, 75.

³⁸ *De trinit.*, III, 12, col. 860.

Nestorianism; for, with the exception of the school of Antioch, where the intimate unity of Jesus Christ is not conceived so strictly, a deep sense of this personal unity is manifest in the Alexandrians and in the Cappadocians, and it cannot have failed to be increased by the reading of the works of Apollinaris. "Neither was there one Son of God before Abraham," St. Athanasius writes, "another after Abraham; nor was there one that raised Lazarus, another that asked concerning him; but the same it was (ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν) that said as man, 'Where does Lazarus lie,' and as God raised him up; the same that as man and in the body spat, but divinely as Son of God opened the eyes of the man blind from his birth, and while, as Peter says, in the flesh He suffered, as God opened the tomb and raised the dead."³⁹ Didymus thinks the same: "We do not believe that the Son who is from the Father is one being (ἄλλον), and He who became flesh and was crucified is another being (καὶ ἄλλον);"⁴⁰ likewise Cyril of Jerusalem,⁴¹ Epiphanius (εἰς, οὐ δύο),⁴² and Amphilochius.⁴³ As for St. Gregory of Nazianzus, after affirming in his IInd Discourse, n. 23, and in his XXXVIIth Discourse, n. 2, the physical unity (ἓν) of Jesus Christ,⁴⁴ he reaches, in a well known passage, the definite formula, and marks out with precision the difference which exists, from the point of view we are now considering, between the mystery of the Incarnation and that of the Trinity: "There are in Him (Jesus Christ)

³⁹ *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, 7; *De sententia Dionysii*, 9.

⁴⁰ *De trinitate*, III, 6, col. 844; *De Spir. Sancto*, 52; cf. *Enarr. in epist. Petri primam*, II, 23, col. 1768; *Enarr. in epist. I Ioann.*, IV, 15, col. 1800, 1801.

⁴¹ *Cat.* XII, 4.

⁴² *Ancoratus*, 120.

⁴³ *Oratio I in Christi natal.*, 4, 6; *Orat. V in diem sabbati sancti*, 2; *Fragm.* III.

⁴⁴ See also *Carmen de vita sua*, verse 635 and foll. (P. G., XXXVII, 1073, 1074).

two natures; He is God and man, since He is body and soul; but there are not two Sons nor two Gods. . . . And (if I am to speak concisely) the Savior is made up of elements which are distinct from one another (for the invisible is not the same as the visible, nor the timeless as that which is subject to time), yet He is not two Persons, God forbid! For both [elements] are one by the union, the Deity being made man, and the manhood being deified, or however one should express it. I say different elements, because it is the reverse of what is the case in the Trinity; for there we acknowledge different Persons so as not to confound the Persons; but not different elements, for the Three are one and the same in Godhead.”⁴⁵ Lastly, St. Gregory of Nyssa also affirms that in Jesus Christ there is not ἄλλος and ἕτερος, but ἐν πρόσωπον.⁴⁶

The first consequence of this personal unity of Christ, notwithstanding the duality of the elements which compose Him, is the *communicatio idiomatum*. Origen had already outlined the theory of this last doctrine; the Greek Fathers of the 4th century take it up again or sanction it by the use they make of it. In his letter to Adelphius (3), Athanasius answers the charge of idolatry made by some against those who worship the flesh of Jesus Christ: “We do not worship a creature,” he says, “. . . We worship the Lord of creation, incarnate, the Word of God. For if the flesh also is in itself (καθ’ ἑαυτήν) a part of the created world, yet it has become God’s body. We neither divide this body

⁴⁵ *Epist.* CI, col. 180: Φύσεις μὲν γὰρ δύο θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα· υἱοὶ δὲ οὐ δύο, οὐδὲ θεοί. . . . Καὶ εἰ δεῖ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ἄλλο μὲν καὶ ἄλλο τὰ ἐξ ὧν ὁ σωτὴρ (εἴπερ μὴ ταυτὸν τὸ ἀόρατον τῷ ὁρατῷ, καὶ τὸ ἄχρονον τῷ ὑπὸ χρόνον), οὐκ ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος· μὴ γένοιτο. Τὰ γὰρ ἀμφότερα ἐν τῇ συγκράσει, θεοῦ μὲν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος, ἀνθρώπου δὲ θεωθέντος, ἢ ὅπως ἂν τις ὀνομάσκει. Λέγω δὲ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ἔμπαλιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς τριάδος ἔχει. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ἵνα μὴ τὰς ὑποστάσεις συγχέωμεν· οὐκ ἄλλο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο, ἐν γὰρ τὰ τρία καὶ ταυτὸν τῇ θεότητι.

⁴⁶ *Contra Eunomium*, V, col. 697.

from the Word and worship it by itself (*καθ' ἑαυτὸ διαροῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου*), nor when we wish to worship the Word do we set Him far apart from the flesh, but knowing, as we said above, that 'the Lord was made flesh,' we recognize Him as God and as existing in the flesh." St. Gregory of Nyssa is still more explicit. In his reply to those who accuse Catholics of confessing two Christs and two Lords, he describes how the properties, actions and passions that must be ascribed exclusively to one of the elements of the Christ, if taken *in abstracto*, can and must be ascribed also to the other element and to the whole, when these elements are considered in the union, *in concreto*. "The flesh considered in itself (*καθ' ἑαυτήν*) is that which reason and sense apprehend concerning it, but, when united with the Divine it no longer remains in its own limitations and properties, but is raised to that which dominates and transcends it. Our contemplation, however, of the respective properties of the flesh and of the Godhead remains free from confusion, so long as each of these is contemplated by itself (*ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν*), as for example, 'the Word was before the ages; the flesh came into being at the end of times.' . . . These things are clear, even though it be not explained in words how the wounds belong to the servant in whom the Lord is, the honors to the Lord whom the servant compasses about, so that by reason of the natural contact and union (*διὰ τὴν συνάφειάν τε καὶ συμφύλαν*), the two things (the wounds and the honors) are common to each element, the Lord receiving the stripes of the servant, and the servant being glorified by the honor of the Lord. This is why the cross is said to be the cross of the Lord of glory, and why every tongue confesses that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." ⁴⁷

A second consequence of the personal unity of Jesus

⁴⁷ *Contra Eunomium*, V, col. 705; cf. 697; GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XXXVIII,

Christ is Mary's divine maternity. Alexander of Alexandria and Apollinaris had made use of the word *θεοτόκος*; Didymus ⁴⁸ and St. Epiphanius ⁴⁹ do not hesitate to employ it also; the classical expressions of this idea, however, are found in St. Gregory of Nazianzus: "If any one does not believe that Holy Mary is the Mother of God, he is severed from the Godhead."⁵⁰ Mary is the *Virgo dei para* (*θεοτόκον παρθένον*).⁵¹

The real distinction between the divinity and the humanity in Jesus, the intimate unity of His person,—a unity which enables us to ascribe to Him the properties, passions and affections of both elements,—Mary's divine maternity,—these facts, these traditional truths were distinctly perceived by the Greek Fathers of the 4th century. To these truths we must add another, which was set forth especially by St. Athanasius, that is, that in Jesus, the hegemonic principle, the principle of the single personality, is in the Word. The doctrine is this: The Word, who was first *ἄσαρκος*, has taken flesh; but by becoming incarnate, this Word has not changed, nor has He acquired anything in His intimate being: He has remained the same (*ὁ αὐτός*) that He was before. "He indeed has gained nothing from us that might perfect Him, for the Word of God is without defect; He is perfect: it is we who have been perfected by Him."⁵² The hypostasis that He was has, then, remained such as it existed, and it is in the humanity that we must seek the new modalities which allow us to speak of one Son, of one Jesus Christ, of one concrete person.

To probe these modalities and unfold them, would have

⁴⁸ *De Trinit.*, I, 31, col. 421; II, 4, col. 481; III, 41, col. 488.

⁴⁹ *Ancoratus*, 75.

⁵⁰ *Εἰ τις οὐ θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν ὑπολαμβάνει, χωρὶς ἐστὶ τῆς θεότητος* (*Epist.* CI, col. 177).

⁵¹ GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XXIX, 4.

⁵² *Contra arianos*, I, 43.

been to reach the very core of the mystery and explain it, as much as this can be done; it would have been to show the intimate essence of the bond which united, in Jesus, God and man. As we shall see shortly, the terminology of our authors was not sufficiently accurate, nor their conception of the doctrine sufficiently precise, to enable them to bring to a successful issue that work which was to be the work, not of mere witnesses of the tradition, but of professional and well-trained theologians, working on the data of tradition. In these Fathers, however, there are found felicitous ideas, which will become classical. St. Athanasius, for instance, conceives the union of the elements in Jesus Christ as an appropriation of the human nature by the Word: the Word has not been changed into the body, but He has made the body and what belonged to the body His own: *ἰδιοποιεῖτο τὰ τοῦ σώματος ἴδια, ὡς ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ λόγος ὁ ἀσώματος*. The body was not the Word, but it was the body of the Word;⁵³ hence it was not *sui iuris*, and this is why we ascribe to the Word its progress and growth, because it was *His* body (*διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα ιδιότητα*).⁵⁴ The flesh was divinely borne by the Word: *ἡ σὰρξ θεοφορεῖται ἐν τῷ λογῷ*.⁵⁵ In his turn, St. Gregory of Nazianzus observes that in the union, the human element has been deified in some way by the divine element: *τὸ μὲν ἐθέωσε, τὸ δὲ ἐθεώθη*.⁵⁶ These are correct ideas; but, as has been said before, when we leave the domain of traditional ideas and facts, and seek in our authors precise formulas and a definite stand regarding the subject before us, in most cases we soon come to realize that their speculations are still incomplete and that their language is not sufficiently mature.

We may see this from several of the texts already quoted. The expressions used to designate the union of the Word

⁵³ *Ad Epictetum*, 6.

⁵⁴ *Contra arianos*, III, 54, 53, 56.

⁵⁵ *Contra arianos*, III, 41.

⁵⁶ *Or. XXXVIII*, 13.

and the humanity are at times rather colorless; but too often they present either a Nestorian or a Monophysite appearance. Thus, for instance, Athanasius says of the humanity, that it is the οἶκος, ναός, ὄργανον, ἔνδυμα, στολή, περιβολή⁵⁷ of the divinity; St. Cyril of Jerusalem, that it is its clothing, its veil, λέντιον, καταπέτασμα.⁵⁸ One can notice — ay, in fact, some scholars have observed — in St. Gregory of Nazianzus, two parallel series of expressions that apparently indicate altogether opposed tendencies. Whereas, speaking of Jesus, he says sometimes εἷς,⁵⁹ which is correct, he says also frequently ἓν, which is not correct. Jesus Christ is ἐν ἑξ ἀμφοῖν, ἓν ἐκ τῶν δύο.⁶⁰ The union is μίξις, κράσις, σύγκρασις,⁶¹ — terms which later on will be judged severely, for they imply Eutychianism. On the other hand, his theological discourses contain many an expression, which, if taken literally, implies merely a moral union between the two elements in Christ.⁶² This is also the case with St. Gregory of Nyssa. In several passages he also seems to distinguish two persons in Jesus: the man, in the Savior, is a tabernacle where the Word dwells; the divinity is in Him who suffers.⁶³ However, the contrary tendency — the Monophysite tendency — is more striking and at times makes us feel somewhat uneasy. We must remember that St. Gregory of Nyssa is an enthusiastic disciple of Origen, and that the latter seems to have admitted some sort of a transformation of the humanity into the divinity after the Savior's glorifica-

⁵⁷ *Contra arianos*, III, 34, 52; *Ad Epict.*, 2, 4, 10; *Ad Adelpium*, 3, 4; *Orat. de incarn.*, 42, 43, 44; *Fragm.*, P. G., XXVI, 1240.

⁵⁸ *Catech.* XII, 1, 6.

⁵⁹ *Or.* XXIX, 19.

⁶⁰ *Or.* II, 23; XXXVII, 2; XXXVIII, 13; *Epist.* CI, col. 180.

⁶¹ *Or.* II, 23; XXX, 3; XXXVIII, 13; *Epist.* CI, col. 180.

⁶² *Or.* XXIX, 18, 19; XXX, 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 21. Cf. A. J. MASON, *The Five Theological Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Cambridge, 1899, Introduction, pp. xvi-xix.

⁶³ *Contra Eunomium*, V, cols. 700, 705; *Antirrhet.*, 54.

tion. The term which St. Gregory uses most often to mark the union of the two elements in Jesus Christ, is that of *ἀνάκρασις*, which is made use of to designate the mixture of several liquids and the consequent dilution of their respective properties (*temperatio*).⁶⁴ Thus, he writes: "We assert that even the body in which He underwent His passion, by being mingled with the divine nature (τῇ θείᾳ φύσει κατακραθέν), was made by that commixture to be that which the assuming nature is. So far are we from entertaining any low idea concerning the Only-begotten Son that if anything belonging to our lowly nature was assumed in His dispensation of love for man, we believe that even this was transformed (μεταπεποιῆσθαι) to what is divine and incorruptible."⁶⁵ A few lines further, this idea is still more emphasized: "In physical combinations (σωματικῶν ἀνακράσεων), when one of the combined elements exceeds the other in a great degree, the inferior is wont to change completely (πάντως μεταποιεῖσθαι) to that which is more potent. This we are plainly taught by the voice of the Apostle Peter in his mystic discourse, that the lowly nature of Him who was crucified through weakness,—and weakness marks the flesh, as we have heard about the Lord—that lowly nature, I say, by virtue of its combination with the infinite and boundless element of good, remained no longer in its own limitations and properties (ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις καὶ ἰδιώμασιν), but was by the right hand of God raised up and became Lord instead of servant, Christ a king instead of a subject, highest instead of lowly, God instead of man."⁶⁶ These last words signify apparently that the Holy Doctor is alluding to the glorified humanity. This is still more probable as regards

⁶⁴ *Contra Eunom.*, V, col. 693, 697, 705, 708; *Antirrhet.*, 42. Cf. PETAU, *Dé incarn.*, lib. III, cap. ii, 8, 9, 17.

⁶⁵ *Contra Eunom.*, V, col. 693 [*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, vol. V, p. 176].

⁶⁶ *Contra Eunomium*, V, col. 697, 700, 705.

a page of the *Antirrheticus*, where the author compares the humanity to a drop of vinegar falling into the sea and becoming absorbed into its waters, and where he presents this humanity as "transformed into the sea of incorruptibility" and "changed, with all that had then appeared according to the flesh, into the divine and immortal nature," no longer possessing "weight, shape, color, resistance, softness, limitation of the quantity, in a word anything of what could have been seen then, since the mixture with the divine had raised to the divine properties the lowliness of the bodily nature." ⁶⁷

As to St. John Chrysostom, no wonder that we find in him an echo of the Antiochian doctrines which he had probably learned at the school of Diodorus. But fortunately his strong practical genius restrained him in time from these dangerous speculations. In his eleventh homily on St. John (2), in which he discourses upon the relation between the two natures in Jesus Christ, he explains by the *habitavit in nobis* the *Verbum caro factum est* which precedes. The humanity is the tent (σκηνή) ⁶⁸ of the divinity: the substances, then, neither are confused nor disappear; however τῇ ἐνώσει καὶ τῇ συναφείᾳ ἓν ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς λόγος καὶ ἡ σὰρξ. How this unity was brought about, we cannot find out; Christ alone knows it: τὸ δὲ ὅπως, μὴ ζήτηι· ἐγένετο γὰρ ὡς οἶδεν αὐτός. This is all that St. Chrysostom can tell us about this ineffable and unfathomable mystery.

From these few remarks it is quite clear that, while the Greek Fathers of the end of the 4th century had drawn from the Catholic sense and from the traditional teaching sufficient light to thrust aside and condemn Apollinarianism, yet they had not sufficiently matured their ideas nor given to their language sufficient accuracy to bring the Christologi-

⁶⁷ *Antirrhēt.*, 42; cf. *Contra Eunomium*, V, col. 708.

⁶⁸ Cf. *In psalm.* XLIV, 2: ναός.

cal problem to a perfectly satisfactory and definite solution. There were still several obscurities, through which even the greatest minds were slowly feeling their way. These obscurities were to be cleared up, at least partly, during the 5th and 6th centuries, but not without many hard struggles and many heart-rendings.

WORKS OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM QUOTED IN THE
FOLLOWING PAGES.

In order that he may find more easily the texts of St. Chrysostom mentioned in the following chapter, I place before the reader a list of the works from which these texts are taken, and I indicate also the corresponding volume of Migne's *Greek Patrology*. The commentaries on Holy Writ are given first, in the order of the sacred books, then the various treatises, homilies and discourses in alphabetical order.

	<i>P. G.</i>
In Genesim.....	LIII, LIV
In psalmos.....	LV
In Isaiam.....	LVI
In Matthaeum.....	LVII, LVIII
In Ioannem.....	LIX
In acta apostolorum.....	LX
In epist. ad Romanos.....	LX
In epist. I ad Corinthios.....	LXI
In epist. II ad Corinthios.....	LXI
In epist. ad Galatas.....	LXI
In epist. ad Ephesios.....	LXII
In epist. ad Philippenses.....	LXII
In epist. ad Colossenses.....	LXII
In epist. II ad Thessalonicenses.....	LXII
In epist. I ad Timothaeum.....	LXII
In epist. II ad Timothaeum.....	LXII
In epist. ad Hebraeos.....	LXIII

Ad populum antiochenum.....	XLIX
Ad Theodorum lapsum.....	XLVII
Adversus Iudaeos.....	XLVIII
De Anna.....	LIV
De baptismo Christi.....	XLIX
De beato Philogonio.....	XLVIII
De consolatione mortis.....	LVI
De consubstantiali contra anomoeos.....	XLVIII
De cruce et latrone.....	XLIX
De Davide et Saule.....	LIV
De decem millia talentorum debitore.....	LI
De incomprehensibili Dei natura.....	XLVIII
De laudibus sancti Pauli.....	L
De Lazaro.....	XLVIII
De libello repudii.....	LI
De paenitentia.....	XLIX
De resurrectione mortuorum.....	L
De sacerdotio.....	XLVIII
De sancta Pentecoste.....	L
De sancto Meletio antiocheno.....	L
In ascensionem Domini.....	L
In eos qui pascha ieiunant.....	XLVIII
In illud "In faciem Petro restiti".....	LI
In illud "Vidi Dominum".....	LVI
In prodicionem Iudae.....	XLIX
In sanctum Eustathium Antiochenum.....	L
In sanctum Romanum martyrem.....	L

CHAPTER VI

GREEK THEOLOGY DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY, ON OTHER SUBJECTS THAN THE TRINITY AND CHRIST

§ 1. Angelology.

THE time had not yet come for Greek Theology to speculate at length on Angelology. Taken up as they are with actual struggles and with the instruction of the faithful, the authors of the 4th century speak of the angels only occasionally.

The Cappadocians look upon the angels as creatures that are immortal through their participation in God's eternity,¹ free and intelligent, although, notwithstanding the keenness of their intellect, they cannot comprehend the divine nature.² Are the angels pure spirits? No, says St. Basil: in his eyes, their substance (*οὐσία*) is a breath of the air or an immaterial fire (*ἀέριον πνεῦμα ἢ πῦρ ἄϋλον*), and this is why they are localized and become visible, in the shape of their own bodies (*ἐν τῷ εἶδει τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῶν σωματῶν*), to those who are worthy to see them.³ St. Gregory of Nazianzus declines to give his own views,⁴ whereas St. Gregory of Nyssa seems

¹ GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XXIX, 13; GREG. NYSS., *Contra Eunom.*, VIII (*P. G.*, XLV, 796, 797).

² BASIL., *De Spir. Sancto*, 38; GREG. NYSS., *De orat. domin.*, IV (*P. G.*, XLIV, 1165, 1168); *Contra Eunom.*, I, col. 461.

³ *De Spir. Sancto*, 38. Didymus also teaches the corporeal nature of the angels (*De trin.*, II, 4, col. 481). So likewise Macarius the Egyptian (*Homil.* IV, 9).

⁴ *Or.* XXVIII, 31; XXXVIII, 9.

to maintain resolutely their absolute spirituality.⁵ This last view is perhaps also that of St. John Chrysostom.⁶ True, he declares that, as the nature of the angels is superior to ours, we cannot know *μετὰ ἀκριβείας* what they are;⁷ however, he presents them as creatures that have no body (*ἄσώματος φύσις*) and therefore cannot have had with the daughters of men the relations ascribed to them by some who misinterpret *Genesis*, VI, 2.⁸ Hence, when they appeared, they did not manifest their own substance, which is invisible, but an external form which was merely the appearance of a body, not a real body (*συγκατάβασις*).⁹

After their creation, the angels were raised to the state of grace, for they became holy only through the action of the Holy Ghost in them.¹⁰ This first grace, however, did not make them permanently secure in good. While it is true that they were less susceptible to sin than we are, still they were not *ἀκινήτοι*, but *δυσκινήτοι*. This is proved from the fall of Lucifer and his companions,¹¹ who sinned by envy or pride.¹²

In consequence of that fall, we must henceforth distinguish between the good and the bad angels. St. Chrysostom describes the good angels as spread all through the air,

⁵ *De Virgin.*, 4 (*P. G.*, XLVI, 348); *De orat. domin.*, or. IV, col. 1165; *Contra Eunom.*, I, col. 341; XII, col. 1041; *Orat. cat.*, 6 (*P. G.*, XLV, 25).

⁶ I say *perhaps*, for the philosophy of that time made a distinction between body and matter, between gross and subtle matter. This point will be referred to again later on.

⁷ *De incomprehensibili Dei natura*, homil. V, 3.

⁸ *In Genes.*, homil. XXII, 2.

⁹ *In Genes.*, homil. XXII, 2; *De consubstantiali contra anomoeos*, hom. VII, 6.

¹⁰ BASIL., *De Spiritu Sancto*, 38; *Epist.* VIII, 10; GREG. NAZ., *Or.* VI, 12, 13.

¹¹ GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XXXVIII, 9; XLV, 5; GREG. NYSS., *Contra Eunom.*, I, col. 333.

¹² GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XXXVIII, 9; GREG. NYSS., *Or. catech.*, 6, col. 28.

dwelling in the churches, surrounding the altar and praying for us during the oblation, presenting to God the blood of His Son and fighting in our behalf against the devils.¹³ Besides, to every just man, nay to every man, every church and every nation, a guardian angel has been given to protect and inspire with holy thoughts those whom he guides.¹⁴ As to the fallen angels, St. Cyril of Jerusalem seems to suppose that some of them have obtained forgiveness.¹⁵ St. Epiphanius divides the others into two categories:—those who are upon earth, and the demons, sons of darkness, who are under the earth.¹⁶ St. Gregory of Nazianzus says merely that the bad angels have been hurled down from heaven, and that, as they have not been annihilated, they wage an unceasing warfare against the children of God.¹⁷

§ 2. Anthropology.

It is chiefly in their writings against Manicheism that the Greek Fathers of the 4th century have treated the subject of man's nature and of his present state. Judging from the large space which the refutation of Manicheism holds in their works, especially in the works of those who aim at instructing the people, it is quite evident that they looked upon that heresy as very attractive to human nature and fraught with great dangers to the morals of Christians.

As we have seen, Apollinaris set a real distinction in man between the rational soul (*νοῦς*) and the animal soul (*ψυχὴ*):

¹³ *In ascens. Domini homil.*, I; *De incompreh. Dei nat.*, homil. III, 7.

¹⁴ BASIL., *In psalm. XXXII*, 5, vers. 7 (*P. G.*, XXIX); *Adv. Eunom.*, III, 1; *Epist. CCXXXVIII*; GREG. NAZ., *Or. XLII*, 9; GREG. NYSS., *De vita Moysis* (*P. G.*, XLIV, 337, 340); CHRYSOST., *In Matth.*, hom. LIX, 4; *In epist. ad Coloss.*, hom. III, 3; *De laudib. sancti Pauli*, hom. VII, init.; *In acta apostol.*, hom. XXVI, 3.

¹⁵ *Catech.*, II, 10; cf. DIDYM., *Enarr. in epist. s. Petri primam*, I, 12; III, 22 (cols. 1759, 1770).

¹⁶ *Ancoratus*, 72.

¹⁷ *Carmina*, lib. I, sect. I, 7 (*P. G.*, XXXVII, 443, foll.).

and this view was held also by Didymus the Blind,¹⁸ who probably took it from Origen. The other Fathers either opposed it or were simply dichotomists.¹⁹ From the union of the body and the soul, there results a *λόγικον ζῶον* which sums up in itself the two worlds, the higher world and the lower world.²⁰ What is the origin of that soul? Didymus, who here again follows Origen, believes, indeed, that souls have been created; but he thinks that they exist before the bodies in which they have been imprisoned in punishment of their sins.²¹ This is an error which, in spite of his Origenistic tendencies, St. Gregory of Nyssa explicitly condemns.²² He personally, however, inclines to traducianism, to say the least, if he does not profess it distinctly. He affirms rightly that the soul is formed at the same time as the body, since, from the very first instant, the latter receives life from the former;²³ but elsewhere, he adds that, for its development into a fetus and then into a child, the human seed receives nothing from outside (*ἐξωθεν*).²⁴ St. Epiphanius, who admits that Adam's soul was created, feels quite at a loss when he comes to reconcile his opinion with the text of Genesis, in which we read that the soul of the first man was breathed by God into him. However, on one hand this soul is not a part of God (*μέρος θεοῦ*); on the other, it is not foreign to Him (*ἀλλότριον τοῦ*

¹⁸ *De Spiritu Sancto*, 54, 55, 59; cf. *De trin.*, III, 31, col. 956.

¹⁹ ATHAN., *Cont. gentes*, 26, 30, even though he also distinguishes virtually *νοῦς* from *ψυχή*. GREG. NYSS., *De homin. opificio*, 6; CHRYSOST., *In epist. ad Roman.*, XIII, 2; *In epist. ad Philipp.*, hom. VII, 2; *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, hom. XIII, 3; MACAR. AEGYPT., *Homil.* VII, 8.

²⁰ GREG. NYSS., *De homin. opificio*, 8; *Antirrhet.*, 35; GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XXXVIII, II; XLV, 7.

²¹ *Enarr. in epist. s. Petri primam*, I, I (col. 1755); cf. ST. JEROME, *Apologia adv. libros Rufini*, III, 28.

²² *De anima et resurr.* (P. G., XLVI, col. 125, 128); CYRILL. HIER., *Cat.* IV, 19; EPIPH., *Ancoratus*, 62.

²³ *De anima et resurrectione*, *ibid.*

²⁴ *De hominis opificio*, 29, col. 234.

ἐνφυσήματος) : hence, how can we solve this contradiction? ²⁵

Another problem — still more important — was that of the state in which our first parents were created or placed, and the determination of what was due to nature and what was above nature, in that state. The authors of whom we are speaking applied themselves to that problem; but from all their affirmations one can hardly draw a single precise and well connected theory.

St. Athanasius has treated the subject especially in the two works of his youth, the *Contra Gentes* and the *Oratio de Incarnatione*, in which Plato's influence is manifest. Man, he says, was created first to the image of God and of the Word.²⁶ The knowledge and thought of his own eternity were imprinted in his soul; and consequently his destiny consisted in remembering God continually, in preserving in himself His image, the grace and virtue of the Word, and in leading a happy and immortal life, in familiar intercourse with his Creator; for the soul, being pure and free from the senses, beholds the Word, and in the Word the Father; and this contemplation enraptures it and naturally increases its desires and its love. This was the state of our first parents.²⁷

From this condition — which, as may be seen, comprised resemblance to God, rectitude of will, enlightenment of mind and exemption from evils and from death — man has fallen, and this fall St. Athanasius plainly connects with the sin of Adam.²⁸ In consequence, man has been reduced to what he was by nature: Ἦ γὰρ παράβασις τῆς ἐντολῆς εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν

²⁵ *Ancoratus*, 55. St. Epiphanius is also quite at a loss, when he tries to state in what God's image in man, spoken of in *Genesis*, I, 26, exactly consists: this image, he says, is neither in the body nor in the soul; it consists exclusively neither in the efficacy nor in the grace of Baptism (*Ibid.*, 55, 56).

²⁶ *Contra gentes*, 2, 8; *Or. de incarn.*, 3.

²⁷ *Contra gentes*, 2; *Or. de incarn.*, 3, 5, II.

²⁸ *Or. de incarn.*, 3; *C. arianos*, II, 61.

αὐτοὺς ἐπέστρεφεν: ²⁹ thus he forfeited integrity and bodily immortality; he was made subject to the *φθορά*, since he is naturally mortal; ³⁰ but — and here we notice a confusion, — not only did he remain, in his soul, intelligent and immortal; ³¹ he also lost the knowledge of God and the contemplation of the Word only gradually, as he yielded more and more to sensual pleasures. His resemblance to God was destroyed only by degrees. ³² Nay, more, the soul can recover this resemblance to God, this contemplation of the Word (*τοῦ λόγου θεωρία*), through its own exertions, by rejecting sin and casting off the bonds of sensuality, for it is its own way unto itself and does not receive from without the knowledge and understanding of the Word — God. ³³

In these last passages, St. Athanasius seems clearly to imply that the resemblance to God and the knowledge of the Word are natural to man. Elsewhere, he speaks otherwise: not only does he call them a grace (*χάρις*), but he looks upon the resemblance to God as something that has been forfeited through sin and cannot be restored except by the Incarnation. He alone who is preëminently God's image — Jesus Christ — could reëstablish in man the divine likeness and thus bring him to the knowledge of God. ³⁴

Later on the language of our author acquires still more firmness. Distinguishing between the creative act and the act by which God adopts us, he observes that through the former our nature is given to us, while through the latter we are established in grace; and also that this grace of sonship results in us only from the fact that we are the abode of the Word,—the true Son of God and His image — and of His Holy Spirit. ³⁵ However, St. Athanasius does not

²⁹ *Or. de incarn.*, 4.

³⁰ *Or. de incarn.*, 5.

³¹ *Contra gentes*, 13, 31–34.

³² *Contra gentes*, 8.

³³ *Contra gentes*, 33, 34.

³⁴ *Or. de incarn.*, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14.

³⁵ *C. arianos*, II, 58, 59; III, 10.

retract what he has written before; he corrects his former expressions, he does not recant them.

As regards the subject of which we are treating, the view of the Cappadocians hardly differs from that of St. Athanasius. They present man's primitive state as a state of happiness, which consists, on one hand, in the absence of sufferings and death, on the other, in the love of God and an intimate intercourse with Him.³⁶ These are the Biblical data. This was a natural state (*κατὰ φύσιν*); but it is difficult to determine the exact significance which this expression has in their minds, and to say whether they understand a state strictly due to man, or a state that is merely fitting to his nature, or necessary hypothetically, *i. e.*, supposing his higher destiny. We may mention, however, a speculation of St. Gregory of Nyssa, which has a strong Platonic flavor. The Holy Doctor sees, in God's image imprinted in man, the sum total of all wisdom and virtue, and chiefly liberty. This image has not been imprinted first in a special individual, but in human nature as a *genus*, in the typical man really existing (*realism*). This typical man had no definite sex, and in God's primitive plan, the individuals formed after him were to propagate and multiply, like the angels, in an unknown way. The distinction of sexes was decreed by God only in prevision of the fall.³⁷

There is nothing special in St. Cyril of Jerusalem and in St. Epiphanius on this subject of the state of man before the fall.³⁸ St. Chrysostom describes our first parents as immortal, impassible, happy, full of wisdom and surrounded

³⁶ BASIL., *Homil. quod Deus non est auctor malorum*, 6, 7; GREG. NAZ., *Or. XLV*, 8; GREG. NYSS., *Orat. catech.*, 6.

³⁷ *De hominis opificio*, 16 (col. 135), 17. It is fair to remark that the author usually proposes these explanations as tentative (*διὰ στοχασμῶν τινων*).

³⁸ The latter takes in their most literal sense the descriptions of Genesis (*Ancoratus*, 61).

with a glory which concealed from them their nakedness.³⁹ He understands God's image stamped in them, as meaning man's dominion and kingship over creation.⁴⁰

Adam and Eve lost through their sin this primitive felicity; for it is freewill that introduced evil into the world. Considered in itself, evil is neither positive nor substantial; it is a deviation, a turning aside of the will from the end to which it must attain.⁴¹ As a consequence of this first fault, immortal man became mortal, impassible, he became subject to disease and sickness, his intelligence was obscured, and his will weakened. He felt the unruly motions of concupiscence; he lost sight of God, and gave himself up to idolatry; the social relations themselves were disturbed; poverty and slavery arose as the results of violence and social inequality.⁴² These, then, are the chief features of the fall, as it is described by the Greek Fathers of the 4th century. Now, do they go farther, and think that Adam has transmitted to us not only the miseries that are the punishment of his sin, but also his sin itself? Do they believe that, being his descendants, we were born not only unhappy, but guilty? In a word, do they admit original sin strictly so called? All know how, later on, Julian of Eclanum opposed to St. Augustine their silence and even their contrary teaching on this question, and how, in his turn, St. Augustine tried to prove that they testified in his favor. In truth, neither was altogether in the right. St. Athanasius affirms that "as, when Adam had transgressed, his sin reached unto

³⁹ *Ad popul. antiochen.*, hom. XI, 2; *In Genesim*, hom. XVI, 5; XVII, 1, 2.

⁴⁰ *In Genesim*, homil. XXI, 2; *Ad popul. antioch.*, hom. VII, 2.

⁴¹ BASIL., *Homilia quod Deus non est auctor malorum*, 3-7; GREG. NYSS., *De anima et resurrect.*, col. 93; GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XL, 45; EPIPH., *Haer.*, LXVI, 15.

⁴² GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XIX, 13, 14; XIV, 25; XXII, 13; XLV, 8, 12; GREG. NYSS., *Or. catech.*, 6, col. 29; CHRYSOST., *Ad popul. antioch.*, hom. XI, 2; *In Genesim*, hom. XVII, 2; XVI, 5, 6.

all men (*εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔφθασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία*), so when the Lord had become man and had overthrown the serpent, His great strength extended through all men.”⁴³ Didymus looks upon the fall as the sin of old (*παλαιὰ ἁμαρτία*), from which Jesus cleansed us in His baptism in the Jordan.⁴⁴ All the children of Adam are infected with it through transmission (*κατὰ διαδοχὴν*). The intercourse of the parents is its condition, and this is why Jesus, who is born of a Virgin, has not been stained with it.⁴⁵ As Didymus advances, in the same passage, the idea that, under the Old Dispensation, marriage was accompanied by sin (*τὸν γάμον ἁμαρτητικῶς εἶχον*), we may suppose that, like St. Augustine later, he looked upon concupiscence among the heathen as a sin in itself.

St. Augustine quotes St. Basil's first homily on Fasting, n. 3,⁴⁶ in which it is said that, had Eve been wise enough to fast *then*, we would not be obliged to fast *now*. The following passage of the *Homilia dicta tempore famis et siccitatis*, 7, is still more conclusive: “Pay for the primitive sin (*τὴν πρωτότυπον ἁμαρτίαν*) by giving food away; for just as Adam, by eating unjustly, has transmitted the sin (*τὴν ἁμαρτίαν παρέπεμψεν*), so we do away with [the effects of] the perfidious food, by relieving the need and hunger of our brother.”⁴⁷

St. Augustine quotes likewise several times St. Gregory of Nazianzus, as a witness to the doctrine of original sin, especially his Discourses XVI, 15, XXXVIII, 4, 17, and another passage which can no longer be found in such writings of St. Gregory as are still extant. But, if we except perhaps this last quotation and an expression of Discourse XIX, 13, where the author styles the primitive sin *ours* (*τῆς πρώτης ἡμῶν τῆς ἁμαρτίας*), St. Gregory does not seem to have

⁴³ *C. arianos*, I, 51.

⁴⁶ *P. G.*, XXXI, 168.

⁴⁴ *De trinitate*, II, 12, col. 684.

⁴⁷ *P. G.*, XXXI, 324.

⁴⁵ *Contra manichaeos*, VIII, col. 1096.

taught that our souls were, strictly speaking, stained with the sin of Adam. He declares that those children who die unbaptized are without sin (*ἀπονόητους*), and will be neither rewarded nor punished by the just Judge.⁴⁸ We find the same teaching in St. Gregory of Nyssa: he too speaks of fall, but not of sin. In his treatise *De infantibus qui praemature moriuntur*, he writes that these children have no disease from the beginning, that they have no need of the health which comes from purification (*μὴ δεόμενον τῆς ἐκ τοῦ καταρθῆναι ὑγιείας*), and that they will begin to enjoy, according as they are capable, the knowledge and participation of God—which is the natural life of the soul—till, through the progressive use of their freewill, they become capable of a more complete knowledge of God and of a fuller participation of Him.⁴⁹

We may pass by the short indications of St. Cyril of Jerusalem concerning the subject on which we are engaged.⁵⁰ St. Chrysostom deserves our attention, the more so that both Julian of Eclanum and St. Augustine have claimed him as an exponent of their respective views, and that he belongs to the school of Antioch whose tendencies are certainly Pelagian. To prove that St. John Chrysostom did not admit original sin, Julian appealed to a passage of a homily *Ad neophytos*, in which the Holy Doctor said that “we baptize even children, although they have no sin, with which they are stained.”⁵¹ To this the Bishop of Hippo replied that in that text, actual sin was meant. Again, it may be said that, according to St. John Chrysostom, the souls of children are not sinful (*πονηραί*);⁵² and it is very strange indeed that he, whose exegetical method is so literal, explains the *peccatores* of the text of St. Paul’s *Epistle to the Romans*, V, 19, not in the sense of *culprits*, but in the

⁴⁸ *Or.* XL, 23.

⁴⁹ *P. G.*, XLVI, 177, 180.

⁵⁰ *Catech.* XIII, 1, 2.

⁵¹ AUGUST., *Contra Julian.*, I, 21, 22.

⁵² *In Matth.*, homil. XXVIII, 3.

sense of men condemned to suffer and die.⁵³ On the other hand, it is true that our author draws a parallel between Adam and Jesus,⁵⁴ and elsewhere seems to identify us with Adam, the transgressor.⁵⁵ Nay, St. Augustine⁵⁶ has quoted a homily of his — no longer extant — in which there is alleged to have been question of a “paternal bond written by Adam,” the “beginning of a debt, which we have increased by our subsequent sins.” But we must confess that all this is rather indefinite. To conclude: while it is true that the belief of all the Greek writers of the 4th century in the fall of mankind as a result of the fault of Adam cannot be questioned, it must be also admitted that their idea of this fall comes decidedly short of the idea of it, entertained at that time in the West. It is less complete and precise. Perhaps we must make an exception of the disciple of Origen, Didymus, and perhaps, too, we may explain the fact that Origen hardly influenced the Cappadocians in this direction by this other fact, that his statements on the subject of original sin were interwoven with his system of the preëxistence of souls.

There was, then, a fall. Did this fall affect the free nature of man and his capability of doing good to the extent of destroying them altogether? To answer in the affirmative would be flatly to contradict the plain statements of our authors, for there is nothing on which, in their struggle against Manicheism, they insist more than on the fact that man, even fallen man, is still free and responsible for his actions. We have already met with this teaching in St. Athanasius. The other Fathers speak in like manner;⁵⁷

⁵³ *In Epist. ad Roman.*, X, 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, X, 1.

⁵⁵ *In Ioann.*, hom. XXXVI, 2; *Ad popul. antioch.*, homil. XI, 5.

⁵⁶ *Contra Iulian.*, I, 26.

⁵⁷ GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XVI, 15; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* IV, 18–21; EPIPHAN., *Haer.* LXIV, 49.

St. John Chrysostom particularly dwells frequently upon this fact, as a fundamental point of Christian morality.⁵⁸ Man's freedom remained entire after the fall. The body has not become wicked, nor hostile and opposed on principle to the soul; concupiscence is in itself neither fault nor sin.⁵⁹

Does this mean that, in order to do what is right, man has no need of the help of God, and that he can save himself by his own exertions? This difficult and delicate question of the necessity of grace had not been raised as yet in the East; no wonder, therefore, that we do not find in the Greek writers of the 4th century a definite and perfect solution. However, we cannot ignore even the incomplete solutions which these writers propose.

These solutions come especially from the Cappadocians and from St. John Chrysostom. While not denying that we can do some good of ourselves,⁶⁰ St. Basil affirms that all the help souls need comes to them from the Holy Ghost, and that without Him no one can utter even a single word in defence of Jesus Christ. God, he adds, helps us to do good, as a rescuer helps a child to keep above the water. Let no one think that, if left to himself, he can be saved; for salvation does not come from the power of man, but from the knowledge and grace of God.⁶¹ St. Gregory of Nyssa uses almost the same terms, with this difference, however, that he does not seem to require grace for the tendency towards the good, but only for the action itself.⁶²

⁵⁸ For instance, *In Genesim*, hom. XIX, 1; XX, 3.

⁵⁹ *In epist. ad Roman.*, hom. XIII, 1, 2.

⁶⁰ We may observe that one must not expect always to find in these authors the distinction between what is morally good naturally and what is morally good supernaturally: at times, their statements do not attain to that precision.

⁶¹ *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18, 55; *Homil. in psalm. XXIX*, 2; *in psalm. XXXII*, 2.

⁶² *De orat. dominica*, Or. IV (P. G., XLIV, 1165); *De instituto christiano* (P. G., XLVI, 304).

The teaching of St. Gregory of Nazianzus is more complete. It is chiefly in the *Oratio* XXXVII, 13 *et seq.*, that he strives to determine the share of grace and that of human activity in the work of salvation. What the Holy Doctor says in this passage may be summed up as follows: (1) We must coöperate with divine grace: the latter does not accomplish everything in us: "Our salvation must come both from ourselves and from God" (13).⁶³ (2) Free-will has a share at least in the beginning of the work of salvation. God bestows His gifts upon those who are worthy and have become so, not only through the bounty of the Father, but also through their own exertions (15). (3) The author seems to go still farther and to ascribe at times to freewill left to itself the beginning of the work conducive to salvation (21; cf. *Or.* XL, 27). However, (4) the grace of God is always necessary to do good. (5) Nay, the goodwill itself (*τὸ βούλεσθαι καλῶς*) comes from God, and this is why the Apostle ascribes to Him everything in the good work: "*Non volentis nec currentis sed etiam miserentis Dei*" (13).

Unlike the teaching of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, that of St. Chrysostom is not confined to one passage of his works, but it is more extensive and abundant. Besides, it is stamped, of course, with the preoccupations of the author, who is above all a preacher and a moralist, who makes it his business to urge his hearers to personal effort. These are the chief points of his teachings: (1) Without grace, man can perform works that are naturally good: this is the consequence of the complete preservation of freewill after the fall. (2) Without grace, he cannot act well (*κατορθῶσαι*) and perform salutary works. Had not God called us and drawn us unto Himself, we would be powerless.⁶⁴ (3)

⁶³ Cf. *Or.* II, 17.

⁶⁴ In *Genesim*, hom. XXV, 7; LVIII, 5; In *epist. ad Ephes.*, hom. I, 2; cf. In *epist. ad Rom.*, hom. XIV, 7.

This grace requisite for acting well, appears to St. Chrysostom so necessary that he ascribes to it the chief part in our good works and sanctification.⁶⁵ (4) This grace, however, does not paralyze our freewill. It coöperates with us (*συμπράττει*), but does not accomplish everything in us. No doubt, it has the chief part in our works, but we also contribute our share.⁶⁶ (5) Now, as to that help of God, which we need when we resolve to perform the action, do we need it also that we may merely wish to do the good work, that we may be inclined towards it, that we may begin it? — Although St. Chrysostom affirms, with St. Paul, that God works in us both to will and to accomplish, and gives us the inclination of the will,⁶⁷ yet, on the whole, he thinks rather that we begin of ourselves to wish the good, to incline towards it and to will it, and that God strengthens this will, this desire, and gives us power to realize the good effectively.⁶⁸ (6) Moreover, grace is offered to all. That some are vessels of wrath, and others, vessels of mercy, comes from their free choice: ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως οἰκέας.⁶⁹ (7) Predestination follows foreknowledge. There are two wills in God: one, which is to save all men, even those who sin; the other, resulting from God's foresight, which is to punish sinners.⁷⁰ So much for the will to inflict punishments; but, in other passages, St. John Chrysostom expresses also the view that the just have been predestined to glory, nay to the special graces God has bestowed upon them, only in consequence of the good dispositions and goodwill which He has foreseen in them.⁷¹

⁶⁵ *In epist. ad Rom.*, hom. XIX, 1; *In epist. ad Hebr.*, hom. XII, 3.

⁶⁶ *In epist. ad Rom.*, hom. XIX, 1; XIV, 7.

⁶⁷ *In epist. ad Philipp.*, hom. VIII, 1, 2.

⁶⁸ *In Genesim*, hom. XXV, 7; *In epist. ad Hebr.*, hom. XII, 3; cf. *In epist. ad Philipp.*, hom. VIII, 1, 2.

⁶⁹ *In epist. ad Rom.* hom. XVI, 9; XV, 1; XVIII, 5.

⁷⁰ *In epist. ad Ephes.*, hom. I, 2.

⁷¹ *In epist. ad Rom.*, hom. XVI, 5-8.

Altogether, these teachings of St. Gregory of Nazianzus and of St. Chrysostom differ quite considerably, from the conclusions adopted by St. Augustine, and it is not surprising that later the Semi-Pelagians cited as authority on certain points passages found in the works of these two Fathers. On the whole, however, both affirm man's dependence upon divine action and assign to grace a very important part in the good which he performs.

§ 3. Soteriology.⁷²

That grace which man needed could result only from a restoration after his fall. Was God to raise fallen man again, and how could this uplifting be conceived? This question St. Athanasius considers in the *Oratio de incarnatione*, 6-9. Outside the Incarnation, three solutions presented themselves, he remarks: God might forgive man purely and simply, and not execute the sentence of death pronounced against him in case of transgression. This was impossible, for God cannot belie His word. God might allow man to perish, and corruption (*φθορά*) to do its work in the world. This second plan would be just as impossible as the first, because God's design would then be utterly foiled by the wickedness of the devil, and the rational being, which partook of the Word, would disappear from the earth (6). Finally, God might require man to do penance, and then He might condone his fault. But this solution also would have been incomplete: for penance, which blots out past sins and guards us against future sins, is no remedy for corruption and mortality, which are a punishment of sin and a part of our nature: οὐτε δὲ ἡ μετάνοια ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἀνακαλεῖται (7). There remained, then, but this means: the

⁷² J. RIVIÈRE, *Le dogme de la rédemption*, essai d'étude historique, Paris, 1905, chaps. IX-XI [English translation]; OXENHAM, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*, 3d edit., London, 1881; C. VAN CROMBRUGHE, *De Soteriologiae christianae primis fontibus*, Louvain, 1905.

Word of God, who alone could reëstablish all things, because He had created all things, would take a human body and surrender this body to death for all men (ἀντὶ πάντων). In this way, on one hand, all dying, as it were, in Jesus (ὡς μὲν πάντων ἀποθανόντων ἐν αὐτῷ), the sentence of death pronounced by God would be executed; and on the other hand, Jesus coming back to life, and the grace of His resurrection being imparted to us, man would be forever freed from the law of corruption that weighed upon him (7-9).

From God's redeeming will Athanasius infers thus the necessity of the Incarnation and of the death of Christ. We shall see later that this was the argument used generally by the Greek Fathers of the 4th century. As to their soteriological ideas, they are, as a whole, neither systematic nor exclusive. Only a few of these Fathers seem to hold consistently to a particular concept and exposition of the mode of the redemption brought about by Jesus.

These concepts can be reduced to three types, or, if the expression be preferable, constitute three distinct theories. First, there is the *mystical* or *physical* theory, in which the Incarnation plays the most important part. Human nature is fallen: it has been stained by sin and made subject to death; but it is assumed by the Word, and through this intimate contact with Him who is substantial Holiness and Life, it is sanctified and vivified. The second theory, the *realistic* theory, while not excluding the first, emphasizes the sufferings of the Savior. To be restored to God's favor, sinful man must atone for his sins and satisfy the divine justice. In order to pay this debt, Jesus Christ *substitutes* Himself for him, for all men. Through His sufferings and death, He pays the debt we owed to God, He *redeems* us; He *atones* for our sins by undergoing the punishment due to us; He *satisfies* God's justice, He *appeases* His wrath and renders Him favorable to us; in a word, He offers to

God the expiatory and propitiatory *sacrifice* which blots out the sins of the world. All these ideas, which are formulated more or less fully, merely express the various aspects of the efficacy of the blood of Jesus to restore to us the divine friendship and deliver us from death. Finally, we may mention the theory of *Satan's rights*, as it has been called. This theory is often merely a somewhat peculiar way of setting forth in oratorical fashion the concept of ransom. Through sin we have become the property of Satan who will free us only in consideration of a just price. The life and blood of Jesus Christ are the price paid to Satan; for the latter seizes the Savior, it is true; but he cannot retain Him as his victim and ransom. The risen Christ escapes and frees Himself.

These, then, are the three principal forms to which we may reduce the various soteriological views expressed especially by the ancient Fathers. Once more we must observe that, as regards the Fathers of whom we are now speaking, the first and third concepts, when met with in their works, never exclude the second, and that they ascribe always a special efficacy to the death of Jesus. This remark being made, we may say that St. Athanasius and St. Gregory of Nyssa represent especially the mystical or physical theory; Didymus, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus and chiefly St. John Chrysostom, the realistic theory; St. Gregory of Nyssa, and to some extent, St. Basil, the theory of Satan's rights.

St. Athanasius uses the first theory against the Arians, to demonstrate the full divinity of Jesus. For, in the last analysis, the restoration of our nature must be a return to that divine life and to that participation of the Word which had been first granted to mankind: it is a *θεοποίησις*. This deification includes the immortality of the body (*ἀφθαρσία*) together with the divine sonship and resemblance to God;

and it will be fulfilled through the union of our nature with Him who is God, God's own Son, God's perfect image, essential life. For that nature, in which we all have a share, being vivified and made divine by that union, we, who are concorporeal with Jesus (σύσσωμοι),⁷³ are all by this very fact, deified; according to the expression of Athanasius, our flesh is *verbified* (λογοθείσης τῆς σαρκὸς διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον).⁷⁴ "The Word has become man, that He might deify us in Himself."⁷⁵ "He was made man that we might be made gods; He manifested Himself in a body, that we might receive the knowledge of the unseen Father; He endured the insults of men, that we might inherit immortality."⁷⁶

In this exposition, Athanasius at times speaks apparently as though Christ's humanity had not been individual, but had embraced in fact that of all men. This is nothing but a misuse of the Platonic vocabulary, a misuse which is still more noticeable in St. Gregory of Nyssa. In his *Oratio catechetica*, the latter resumes, in a very striking way, the physical theory of Redemption. In Jesus Christ, the two halves of our nature, which death tends to sever, are closely united for ever (16): "God was transfused throughout our nature, in order that our nature might, by this transfusion of the Divine, become itself divine" (25). The whole human nature was united, and consequently we were all united in some way, to God in Christ; and thus, by raising His humanity, Jesus has raised all humanity, all men (ὅλον συναναστήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον), as though the whole of nature had been concentrated in one individual: καθάπερ τινὸς ὄντος ζώου πάσης τῆς φύσεως (32).⁷⁷

⁷³ *C. arianos*, II, 61; I, 42.

⁷⁴ *C. arianos*, III, 33.

⁷⁵ *Ad Adelphium*, 4.

⁷⁶ *Or. de incarnatione*, 54.

⁷⁷ Echoes of the same theory may be found in St. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* XXX, 6, 21) and St. Chrysostom (*Homil. in ascens.* D. N. I. C., 2, 3).

Side by side with this theory, there are also found in St. Athanasius and St. Gregory of Nyssa, unequivocal expressions of the realistic theory, as has been said before. The Bishop of Alexandria states plainly that immortality is the fruit of the death of Jesus, and that our salvation was possible only through the cross.⁷⁸ This death was the payment of a debt (ἐκπλήρου τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ);⁷⁹ it was also a sacrifice (ιερεῖον καὶ θῦμα).⁸⁰ In order to do away altogether with the curse that weighed upon us, Jesus took the curse upon Himself; not indeed that He Himself became curse and sin: "No; but He has taken on Himself the curse which lay against us; He has carried our sins and borne them in His body on the cross."⁸¹ Similar ideas are found in St. Gregory of Nyssa.⁸²

We must give now a more detailed exposition of this theory, as found in the authors who develop it expressly. What St. Basil and St. Chrysostom illustrate is chiefly, on one hand, the need of an expiation capable of appeasing the divine justice, and, on the other, man's inability to offer this expiation. The reason they give for this inability is taken from the fact that, as he is a sinner, man cannot please God and be himself a clean and holy victim, fit to appease the divine justice and blot out the sins of the world: "The Lord had to die," St. Chrysostom concludes, "that we might be saved."⁸³ He alone, adds St. Basil, could "offer to God an expiation (ἐξίλασμα) sufficient to save us all."⁸⁴

⁷⁸ *C. arianos*, III, 58; *Or. de incarn.*, 9, 26.

⁷⁹ *Or. de incarn.*, 9; *C. arianos*, II, 66.

⁸⁰ *Or. de incarn.*, 9; cf. *Ad Epictetum*, 6; *Ad Adelphium*, 6.

⁸¹ *C. arianos*, II, 47; cf. III, 33; *Ad Epictet.*, 8.

⁸² *C. Eunomium*, V (*P. G.*, XLV, 693), VI (col. 717), VII (col. 860); *De perfecta christiani forma* (*P. G.*, XLVI, 261); *De occurso Domini* (*P. G.*, XLVI, 1161, 1165); *Antirrheticus*, 21.

⁸³ *In epist. ad Rom.*, hom. IV, 3; *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, hom. XXXVIII, 2; *In epist. ad Hebr.*, hom. V, 1.

⁸⁴ *In psalm. XLVIII*, 4, 3; cf. ST. EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus*, 93.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem derives this expiatory value of the Redeemer's actions and death chiefly from the freedom of Jesus in His sacrifice,⁸⁵ but also from the dignity of His person — a new point of view with which we have not met so far: "Of no small account was He that died for us; He was not an irrational victim; He was not a mere man; He was more than an angel; He was God made man. The injustice of sinners was not so great as the justice of Him who died for us; the sin which we committed was not so great as the righteousness of Him who laid down His life for us."⁸⁶

Hence we could not save ourselves, but we found a Savior, the Man-God. How is He to bring about this salvation? First, by substituting Himself for us. Like a king who, when he sees a brigand about to undergo punishment, sends to death his only beloved son, and transfers to him not only the death-penalty, but even the fault itself, God gives the character of sinner and of sin to one who, far from ever having committed sin, had not even known it. "God was about to punish them, but He forbore to do it. They were about to perish, but in their stead (ἀντ' ἐκείνων) He gave His Son." The comparison and the words are from St. John Chrysostom;⁸⁷ but the thought is found in Didymus, St. Basil, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and chiefly in St. Gregory of Nazianzus who vigorously represents Jesus as appropriating and making His own our revolt and becoming for us ἀντομαρτία καὶ αὐτοκατάρα.⁸⁸

No doubt, this substitution was made by the Father; but

⁸⁵ *Catech.* XIII, 6.

⁸⁶ *Catech.* XIII, 33.

⁸⁷ *In epist. II ad Corinth.*, hom. XI, 3-4; *In epist. I ad Timoth.*, hom. VII, 3.

⁸⁸ DIDYM., *De trinit.*, III, 12, 21, col. 860, 904; BASIL., *Regulae fusius tractatae*, Interrog. II, 4 (*P. G.*, XXXI, 916); CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XIII, 28; GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XXX, 5; XXXVII, 1.

it was freely and willingly accepted by Jesus;⁸⁹ besides, St. Chrysostom denies expressly that the Father gave to His Son, strictly speaking, a commandment to die.⁹⁰ These remarks being made, we find in our authors the redeeming work of Jesus set forth under all the various forms that have been mentioned above. Jesus gives Himself and surrenders His life as the price (*ἀντίλυτρον*) of our redemption: He is our ransom.⁹¹ As He took our sins upon Himself and as He carries, as it were, all of us in Himself, He atones for our iniquities through His sufferings and death: "He has freed us from the curse, by becoming for us a curse; He has undergone for us a shameful death."⁹² We all die in Him, together with our sin. Jesus is a victim, and His death was a true and voluntary sacrifice, an expiatory sacrifice in which sin has been crucified together with Him who had taken it upon Himself.⁹³ This sacrifice was capable of appeasing the Father and making Him propitious to us;⁹⁴ and He has in truth blotted out our sins, He has done away both with the fault and with the punishment, and has reconciled us to God.⁹⁵ Didymus concludes: "The mediation is in the Incarnation. Through it [the Son of God], immolating Himself for all mankind and offering Himself to His Father as a spiritual perfume, has appeased Him, de-

⁸⁹ CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XIII, 6; CHRYSOST., *In epist. ad Gal.*, cap. III, 3.

⁹⁰ *In Ioan.*, hom. LX, 2, 3.

⁹¹ CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XIII, 2; DIDYM., *De trinit.*, III, 21, col. 904, 908; GREG. NAZ., *Or.* I, 5; cf. XXIX, 20; BASIL., *In psalm.* XLVIII, 3, 4; CHRYSOST., *In Matth.*, hom. LXV, 4.

⁹² BASIL., *Regulae fusius tractatae*, Interrog. II, 4.

⁹³ GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XLV, 13; I, 7; IV, 68, 78; VI, 4; XXXVIII, 16; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XIII, 28; EPIPH., *Ancoratus*, 65; *Haer.* XLII, 8; LXVI, 80; LXIX, 39; LXXVII, 33; CHRYSOST., *In epist. ad Coloss.*, hom. VI, 3; *In epist. ad Gal.*, cap. II, 8.

⁹⁴ DIDYM., *De trinit.*, III, 27, col. 944; CHRYSOST., *In epist. ad Hebr.* hom. XVII, 1.

⁹⁵ CHRYSOST., *In Ioan.*, hom. LXV, 1; *De cruce et latrone*, hom. I, 1.

stroyed death which threatened the whole human race, turned us away from idols, united us all through the knowledge of God, restored Paradise unto us and brought us back to Heaven, uniting — since He is God the Lord — earthly to heavenly things, bringing together what was put asunder, and reëstablishing man in the grace from which he had fallen.”⁹⁶

We shall merely add that, according to the principle laid down by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, this expiation and redemption, effected by Jesus, has been superabundant. For His death, being the death of a Man-God, “more than counterbalanced the destruction of all men.”⁹⁷ “Christ has paid down far more than we owed, yea as much more as the ocean surpasses in extent a little drop.”⁹⁸

It remains for us to speak of the third soteriological theory, that of Satan’s rights, which I said was represented by St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nyssa. Undoubtedly both borrowed it from Origen, who was the first to formulate it expressly. But what is strange is that, while St. Basil and his brother adopt it, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, who had been brought up in the same school, condemns it absolutely. In his eyes, it is blasphemous to say that Satan has received a ransom from God and a God for a ransom.⁹⁹ Moreover, it is only fair to observe that St. Basil does not directly teach this theory, but rather suggests it: “You need to be redeemed, for you have lost your liberty and have been conquered by Satan who holds you captive and will not release you unless he obtains a sufficient ransom. The ransom must be of the same kind, though of a much higher value, if the tyrant is expected to release willingly his captives. Hence, none of your brethren could redeem you.

⁹⁶ *De trinit.*, III, 27, col. 944.

⁹⁷ CHRYSOST., *In epist. ad Heb.*, hom. XVII, 2.

⁹⁸ CHRYSOST., *In epist. ad Rom.*, hom. X, 2.

⁹⁹ *Or.* XLV, 22.

. . . Do not seek as your redeemer a brother, but one who is your superior in nature, not a mere man, but the Man-God, Jesus Christ." ¹⁰⁰

In this passage, the concept of a ransom to be paid to Satan is manifestly expressed. But this theory is presented far more fully and strictly in the *Oratio catechetica*, 22-24, 26, of St. Gregory of Nyssa. God is good, he says; He is wise, but He is also just. Now justice demanded that, since on account of sin Satan had acquired us, we should not be taken away from him by force. He was entitled to a ransom, and of course he would demand a ransom much superior in value to those whom he would be obliged to restore to their freedom. The Man-God is this ransom; a synallagmatic repurchase (*συναλλαγματική λύτρωσις*) is effected. Like a greedy fish that does not notice the hook, Satan falls upon the man Jesus who is presented to him, and tries to get possession of the Savior, he is caught by the hook of the Divinity. But, in harmony with His nature, the latter removes the darkness, destroys death and escapes from the devil. He who had deceived man, is now justly deceived in his turn; but he is deceived for the good of man and for his own good, since Satan himself, as we shall see later, is to profit by the Redemption.

In the light of these remarks, it is easy to see that, after all, the realistic theory is the most common in the theological teaching of the Greek Fathers of the 4th century, and that the other theories are added to it, as if by way of complement or of a more subtle explanation. Besides, all our authors agree on the fruit of Redemption. Redemption has for its purpose to replace us in the condition from which we have fallen, to free us from sin and death, to give us back grace and immortality. It will deify us. We have already heard the testimony of St. Athanasius on this last point; his

¹⁰⁰ In *psalm*. XLVIII 3, 4.

teaching is especially full. The Holy Doctor remarks that, as Jesus as man has received the divine gifts, He has conveyed them to us; nay, through the gift of His Spirit, He bestows upon us His divinity and His divine sonship. This Spirit, which is the Spirit of the Son, makes us children of God and sharers of God (μέτοχοι τοῦ θεοῦ).¹⁰¹ The Cappadocians speak in like manner;¹⁰² so also St. Cyril of Jerusalem. The purpose of the Incarnation is to make sinful humanity share in God (θεοῦ κοινωνός).¹⁰³ Although belonging to the school of Antioch, St. John Chrysostom expresses himself in the same way. For him, as for his contemporaries, all the effects of Redemption which he describes with so much magnificence, and which he declares surpass by far our nature, may be summed up in a deification of our nature: "Jesus, who was God's own Son, became Son of man, in order that He might make the sons of men children of God."¹⁰⁴

§ 4. Ecclesiology.

The first condition upon which depends participation in the fruits of Redemption is membership in the Church, since in her and through her we become members of Jesus, whose body she is. If we except St. Epiphanius, the Greek Fathers of the 4th century spoke but little of the Church *ex professo*; they have implied rather than developed the doctrinal points that refer to her. The Church, says St. Chrysostom, is the spouse of Christ who purchased her unto Himself through His blood. Her first property is unity;

¹⁰¹ *C. arianos*, I, 50, 56; III, 40; *De decretis*, 14; *Ad Scorpionem*, I, 24, 25, 29; III, 3.

¹⁰² GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XXXIX, 17; BASIL., *De Spiritu Sancto*, 23; AMPHILOCH., *Or. I in Christi natalem*, 4: Σύμμορφος τοῖς δούλοις ὁ δεσπότης γέγονε ἵνα οἱ δούλοι γένωνται σύμμορφοι πάλιν θεῷ.

¹⁰³ *Catech.* XII, 15.

¹⁰⁴ *In Ioan.*, hom. XI, 1; *In epist. ad Rom.*, hom. X, 2.

and therefore schism, which divides her, is just as sinful as heresy, which alters her faith. Then, the Church is catholic, that is, spread all over the world; she is indestructible and eternal; she is the pillar and ground of the truth.¹⁰⁵

From this last prerogative there results the consequence, already pointed out and then universally admitted, that the Church is infallible in her doctrinal authority and that her teaching commands the faith of all Christians. Moreover, against those princes who interfered with her internal administration and to whom the Arian disputes and the servility of too many bishops, offered every occasion and facility for imposing themselves upon her as leaders, men of authority came forward to vindicate the independence of the ecclesiastical power, and distinctly to define the domain of the two authorities, religious and secular. "The domain of royalty is one thing," St. Chrysostom exclaims, "and that of the priesthood is another, and the latter excels the former. . . . The prince's business is to administer temporal interests; the right of the priesthood comes to the priest from above." And shortly after: "King, thou art not allowed to burn incense on the Holy of Holies: thou exceedest the limits [of thy power]; thou art bent on doing that which does not belong to thee. . . . This power is mine, not thine."¹⁰⁶

On this question the East agrees perfectly with the West. A more delicate problem is to discover whether, at this time, the Greek Church admits the primacy of the Roman Church over the churches that are outside the Roman patriarchate, and ascribes to the Bishop of Rome a jurisdiction higher

¹⁰⁵ *In epist. ad Ephes.*, hom. XI, 5; *In epist. I ad Corinth.* argumentum; *In Matth.*, hom. LIV, 2; *In illud "Vidi Dominum,"* hom. IV, 2; *Adv. Iudaeos*, V, 2; *In epist. I ad Timoth.*, hom. XI, 1.

¹⁰⁶ *In illud "Vidi Dominum,"* hom. IV, 4, 5; cf. ATHAN., *Historia arianorum ad monachos*, 52.

even than the jurisdiction of her own bishops and of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Constantinople and Antioch.

First, we may observe that the primordial facts appealed to by Rome as the basis of her special prerogative, that is, the primacy of St. Peter, his apostolate and martyrdom in Rome, are admitted by the Greeks of the 4th century. Let us not insist on his apostolate and martyrdom: it is enough that Eusebius mentions them in his *History*.¹⁰⁷ St. Peter's primacy is also acknowledged. Speaking for the Alexandrians, Didymus calls him the corypheus (κορυφαῖος), the leader (πρόκριτος), he who holds first place among the Apostles (ὁ τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἔχων).¹⁰⁸ The keys of the kingdom have been handed to Peter, and he — and all the others through him (καὶ πάντες δι' αὐτοῦ) — has received the power to reconcile the penitent *lapsi*.¹⁰⁹ St. Epiphanius also calls him the leader, the corypheus of the Apostles, the solid rock on which the Church is set, he on whom the faith rests unshaken (κατὰ πάντα γὰρ τρόπον ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστερεώθη ἡ πίστις), who has received the keys of heaven, who binds upon earth and looses in heaven.¹¹⁰ According to St. Basil, St. Peter has been placed over all the other disciples (προκριθείς), and has received the keys of the kingdom.¹¹¹ But it is St. Chrysostom especially who never tires of rehearsing the privileges of the Apostle. St. Peter is the first, the corypheus, the mouth of the Apostles, the prince of the disciples, the base and foundation of the Church, he who has charge of the whole world and to whom the care of the whole flock has been entrusted, and whose power and superiority St. Paul himself has unhesitatingly acknowl-

¹⁰⁷ *Hist. eccles.*, II, 14; 25.

¹⁰⁸ *De trinit.*, I, 27, col. 408; II, 18, col. 726; II, 10, col. 640.

¹⁰⁹ *De trin.* I, 30, col. 417.

¹¹⁰ *Ancoratus*, 9, 34; *Haer.* LIX, 7, 8.

¹¹¹ *De iudicio Dei*, 7 (P. G., XXXI, 672).

edged.¹¹² These titles, dispersed, as it were, throughout the works of the great orator, are all gathered in the homily, *In illud* "*Hoc scitote*," 4: 'Ο οὖν Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τοῦ χοροῦ, τὸ στόμα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπάντων, ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς φατρίας ἐκείνης, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης προστάτης, ὁ θεμέλιος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὁ θερμὸς ἐραστὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

That the transmission of this primacy of Peter to his successors was firmly believed in then by the faithful of the West and by those of Rome especially, is an established fact, as we shall see later. In the East likewise, the faithful do not hesitate to ascribe to the Roman Church an unquestionable preëminence which entitles her to intervene in the disputes of particular churches, although at times the nature and limits of that preëminence are not distinctly defined, nor the source from which it is derived, distinctly perceived. When they record the Arian controversies, Socrates and Sozomen mention, as a thing that caused no surprise whatever, the claim put forward by Pope Julius, that nothing should be settled in the Oriental Councils without his authority.¹¹³ Taking the Christian and ecclesiastical point of view, St. Gregory of Nazianzus speaks of ancient Rome as the one who presides over the whole world, τὴν πρόεδρον τῶν ὅλων.¹¹⁴ Then, if we come to facts, we see that the bishops condemned by the Eusebian Councils, St. Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra, take refuge with Pope Julius and appeal to *his* decision; that, at first, the Eusebians

¹¹² *De paenitentia*, hom. III, 4; *In Matth.*, hom. XXII, 3; hom. LIV, 1; *Expositio in psalm.* CXXIX, 2; *In Ioan.*, hom. XXIII, 3; *In acta apostol.*, hom. XXII, 1; VI, 1; III, 3; *In epist. ad Rom.*, hom. XXIX, 5; *De decem millia talentorum debitore* hom., 3; *In epist. I ad Thessalon.*, hom. IX, 1; *In illud* "*Vidi Dominum*," hom. IV, 3; *Adv. Iudaeos* hom. VIII, 3; *In illud* "*In faciem Petro restiti*" hom. 7, 8; *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, hom. III, 1; XXXV, 5.

¹¹³ SOCRATES, *Hist. eccles.*, II, 8, 15, 17; SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccles.*, III, 8.

¹¹⁴ *Carmen de vita sua*, verse 571 (*P. G.*, XXXVII, 1068).

do not demur at the Pope's judging the case after them (αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον, εἰ βούλοιτο, κριτὴν γενέσθαι),¹¹⁵ and that, although they refuse, later on, to accept his decision, yet they do so finally, in the year 346, when St. Athanasius returns to Alexandria. The case of St. John Chrysostom presents a similar appeal to Rome. In his first letter to Pope Innocent (4), the Patriarch of Constantinople asks the Pope to declare in writing that the sentence pronounced against him by the Council of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, is null; that the authors of this sentence are liable to ecclesiastical punishments, and that the Bishop of Rome receives him — Chrysostom — into his communion. Moreover, all know that, in its 3d and 5th canons, the Council of Sardica, which, it is true, was attended chiefly by Western bishops, had sanctioned these appeals to the Apostolic See.

The fact of the Roman primacy is, then, admitted in the Greek Church during the 4th century, although we can detect in her the germs of the future schism. The Council of Constantinople itself, unfavorable to Rome as it is, proclaims the same fact in the canon in which it sets up, as it were, the Patriarch of Constantinople against the Pope. The bishop of the new capital will enjoy a preëminence of honor, but only after that of the ancient Rome (τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον).

§ 5. The Sacraments. Baptism. Confirmation.¹¹⁶

The deification which, as has been said above, results from Redemption, is not usually produced in Christians in purely spiritual and unseen ways. Man being made up of body and soul — according to the idea of St. John Chrysostom,¹¹⁷ — God has given him “ what is intelligible through

¹¹⁵ ATHAN., *Apologia contra arianos*, 20.

¹¹⁶ See P. POURRAT, *La théologie sacramentaire*, Paris, 1906 [English transl.].

¹¹⁷ *In Matth.*, hom. LXXXII, 4.

what is sensible," *i. e.*, divine grace through visible and palpable signs or symbols which we call sacraments. True, the Greek Fathers of the 4th century distinguish, as we have seen from St. John Chrysostom, the sensible element from the grace produced by the sacrament, and also the material element of the rite from the efficacy which it acquires through the blessing it receives. These Fathers, however, did not draw up a general theory of the sacraments nor did they determine absolutely their notion and number. We find, grouped in their works, and particularly in the mystagogic catecheses of St. Cyril only the three sacraments of the Christian initiation, Baptism, Confirmation and the Eucharist — a primitive nucleus which is to develop, later on, analogous rites. Three of these rites, Baptism, Confirmation and Order, are clearly designated as impressing upon the Christian who receives them a seal, a character (*σφραγίς*); but this character is not as yet fully distinguished from the grace produced by the sacrament.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, St. John Chrysostom often insisted on the idea that, in the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, God or Jesus is the chief agent, and the priest, a mere instrument: "The gifts which God bestows are not such as to be effects of the virtue of the priest; all is the work of grace; his part is but to open his mouth, while God works all; the priest only performs a symbolical sign. . . . The offering is the same, whether Paul or Peter offer it; it is the same which Christ gave to His disciples, and which the priests now minister. This is nowise inferior to that, because it is not men that sanctify even this, but the same who sanctified the one sanctifies the other also."¹¹⁹ Likewise for Baptism:

¹¹⁸ St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who, of all the Greek Fathers, has best set forth the theory of the character implies that any one who does not receive divine grace, does not receive the character either (*Catech.* I, 3).

¹¹⁹ *In epist. II ad Timoth.*, hom. II, 4.

"When the priest baptizes, it is not he who baptizes, but God whose invisible power holds the head [of the one who is baptized]." ¹²⁰ "God does not ordain all, but He works through all [priests], though they be themselves unworthy, that the people may be saved." ¹²¹ These are also the principles which, at about the same time, St. Augustine develops and urges against Donatism. The Saint proclaims that the value of the sacraments does not depend on the sanctity of the minister who confers them, and thus he leads sacramental theology on the way to the doctrine of the *ex opere operato*.

But we must go into details, since it is when speaking of the particular sacraments that the Fathers have made the remarks to which we have just alluded.

St. Gregory of Nazianzus distinguishes six kinds of baptism: (1) The baptism of Moses, which was *in aqua* and also *in nube et in mari* (*I Cor. X, 1, 2*): this was a mere figure: (2) that of John the Baptist, which was *in aqua* and *in paenitentiam*; (3) that of Jesus, which is, moreover, *in spiritu* (*ἐν πνεύματι*); (4) the baptism of blood, martyrdom; (5) the baptism of tears, *i. e.*, penance after baptism; (6) the baptism of fire in the other world, still longer in duration and more painful, which devours matter as if it were straw, and destroys the vanity of all wickedness.¹²² The difference between the baptism of St. John and that of Jesus, then, lies in this, that the former is *in paenitentiam* only, whereas the Holy Ghost takes part in the latter. This is the view of St. Basil and of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. They believe that Christian baptism, besides, makes us God's adopted children and gives us the Holy Ghost. Moreover, these effects are figured in Christian baptism, for the burying under the waters signifies the death of the neophyte to

¹²⁰ *In Matt.*, hom. L, 3; cf. *In acta apostol.*, hom. XIV, 3.

¹²¹ *In epist. II ad Timoth.*, hom. II, 3.

¹²² *Orat. XXXIX*, 17, 19; cf. *BASIL.*, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 35, 36.

sin, whereas the Spirit imparts life to him and restores to him the primitive life which he had lost.¹²³ St. John Chrysostom expounds quite another view. Comparing the baptism of the Jews, that of St. John and that of our Lord, he declares that the first reached the body only, that the second brought about the justification of the soul only because it was accompanied with an exhortation to penance (*ex opere operantis*), and that the third alone forgives sins and confers the Holy Ghost.¹²⁴

Whatever the Greek Church may have thought of the value of the baptism of John, it was her universal and unquestionable practice during the 4th century to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost;¹²⁵ hence the Fathers affirm that those who look upon the Holy Spirit as a creature, make baptism imperfect (*ἀτελής*).¹²⁶ St. Basil, however, examines whether or not baptism in the name of Christ, mentioned by St. Paul, is valid, and he remarks that to name Christ is to profess the whole Trinity; for it is to name (implicitly) the Father who does the anointing, the Son who is anointed and the Holy Ghost who is the unction itself; and if elsewhere (*Acts* I, 5; *Luke* III, 16), mention is made of baptism in the Holy Spirit alone, this baptism is also certainly perfect.¹²⁷

The authors of whom we are speaking deem baptism absolutely necessary — except in case of martyrdom — to attain to everlasting happiness.¹²⁸ St. John Chrysostom does not except even those believers who die before receiving it: he declares that they are like the heathen, “outside the palace,

¹²³ BASIL., *Homilia in sanctum baptismum*, I (P. G., XXXI, 425); *De Spiritu Sancto*, 35; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* III, 7, 14; XVII, 8; XX, 6.

¹²⁴ *De baptismo Christi*, 3; *In Matt.*, hom. XII, 3.

¹²⁵ ATHANAS., *Epist. ad Serapionem*, IV, 12; *De decretis*, 31.

¹²⁶ BASIL., *Homil.* XXIV, 5 (P. G., XXXI, 609); *Adv. Eunom.*, III, 5; *De Spiritu Sancto*, 28; GREG. NYSS., *Epist.* V (P. G., XLVI, 1032).

¹²⁷ BASIL., *De Spiritu Sancto*, 28.

¹²⁸ GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XL, 23; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* III, 10.

with the culprits, with the condemned;” nor does he think that they can be helped by prayers and by the offering of the Holy Sacrifice. Alms given for their intention can alone bring to them some alleviation.¹²⁹ St. Cyril of Jerusalem goes still farther, and does not except those who should besides practise virtuous deeds: to them also baptism is absolutely necessary in order that they may enter into the kingdom of heaven.¹³⁰

What are the effects of Christian baptism? In their special discourses on this subject, of which we have already briefly treated, our authors have nobly enlarged upon those effects.¹³¹ They constantly remind us of the forgiveness of sin, nay, of all sin; of the grace of divine adoption; of the reception of the Holy Ghost; of the restoration of God’s image; of the inner transformation of man; of the new life and of the principle of immortality, that are imparted to us. Baptism renders us *σύμμορφοι τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ*.¹³² Besides these effects, another is pointed out. True, we find it mentioned as early as the Apostolic age; but the Greek Fathers of the 4th century set it forth in a special manner. It is the *character*. Baptism imprints a character (*σφραγίς*). St. Cyril of Jerusalem exposes most fully this doctrine, with which the other Fathers are also acquainted. At times baptism itself is called *σφραγίς*;¹³³ but most of the time this word designates one of the effects of baptism: while baptism is being conferred, the Holy Ghost marks the soul (*σφραγίζον, σφραγίζει*).¹³⁴ This mark is compared to circum-

¹²⁹ *In Epist. ad Philipp.*, hom. III, 4.

¹³⁰ *Catech.* III, 4.

¹³¹ See for instance BASIL., *Homil. XIII, Exhortatio ad sanct. baptism.* (*P. G.*, XXXI, 424, foll.); GREG. NAZ., *Or. XL*; GREG. NYSS., *De baptismo* (*P. G.*, XLVI, 416, foll.); CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* III, XIX, XX.

¹³² CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XXI, 1.

¹³³ CYRILL. HIER., *Procatech.*, 16; GREG. NAZ., *Or. XL*, 4, 15.

¹³⁴ CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* IV, 16; XVI, 24; cf. *Catech.* III, 4; XVII,

cision, to a seal which is imprinted on a casket, to a sign with which sheep are marked, or with which the soldiers of the same army are adorned so that they may recognize one another; lastly, to the *tau* drawn upon the doors of the Israelites in Egypt.¹³⁵ The mark of baptism is the distinctive sign of the Christian, that by which the angels and the demons now recognize him as such, and by which the Supreme Judge will also one day recognize him; a mark which is not material, but spiritual (πνευματική), holy and salutary (ἀγία, σωτηριώδη),¹³⁶ wonderful, and above all, indestructible and indelible (ἀκατάλυτος, ἀνεξάλειπτος).¹³⁷ These last words are important, for they prove that St. Cyril, who does not push the distinction between the character and the grace of baptism to the extent of maintaining that the character can be produced when the grace is not, *does* push it, however, to the extent of affirming the permanence of the character, even after the grace of regeneration has been lost through sin.

How are these effects of baptism brought about? The fact that, on one hand, the authors of whom we are speaking do not demand holiness of the minister who confers baptism, and, on the other, accept the baptism of children,¹³⁸ shows that they attribute to the rite itself an objective efficacy for the production of grace. Whence does this efficacy come and how is it exercised? This St. Cyril of Jerusalem explains by outlining a theory which he is to apply also to the chrism of confirmation and, in a stricter sense, to the bread of the Eucharist. Cyril supposes that the blessing of

¹³⁵ CHRYSOST., *In epist. ad Ephes.*, hom. II, 2; *In epist. II ad Corinth.*, hom. III, 7; BASIL., *Homil. in sanctum baptism.*, 4; GREG. NAZ., *Or. XL*, 4, 15; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* I, 2; III, 12.

¹³⁶ CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* I, 3.

¹³⁷ CYRILL. HIER., *Procatech.*, 16, 17.

¹³⁸ St. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or. XL*, 28) demands that, if they are in danger of death, new born infants be baptized immediately; otherwise, let children receive baptism when they are about three years old.

the baptismal water through the invocation (ἐπίκλησις) of the Trinity imparts to this water a sanctifying power (δύναμιν ἁγιότητος). This water, once blessed, is no longer mere water (λιπὸν ὕδωρ), but it is water united to the Holy Ghost, whose action is exercised in it and through it.¹³⁹ This theory is substantially accepted by St. Basil, who accounts for the regenerating efficacy of the water by the presence of the Holy Ghost,¹⁴⁰ and it is confirmed by the Euchologion of Serapion. In the prayer given in this document for the blessing of baptismal water (XIX),¹⁴¹ God is asked to fill the waters with the Holy Ghost, to bring down His Word into them and to transform their regenerating efficacy, that they may produce spiritual men.¹⁴²

There remains the question of the value of the baptism conferred by heretics. As has been said elsewhere,¹⁴³ the divergence of views on this subject had not ceased with the controversy between Pope Stephen and St. Cyprian, and in the East especially the most diverse practices continued to be followed. It is at times quite difficult to make out the thought of our authors; for we cannot always see with certainty whether they reject the baptism of some heretics on account of their being heretics, or on account of their failing to use, in the administration of baptism, the requisite Trinitarian formula. At Alexandria, the doctrine seems to have been that those heretics who were orthodox on the subject of the Trinity conferred valid baptism, while the others did not. This is why Athanasius declares the bap-

¹³⁹ *Catech.* III, 3, 4.

¹⁴⁰ *De Spir. Sancto*, 35; cf. GREG. NAZ., *Or.* XL, 8.

¹⁴¹ Edit. FUNK.

¹⁴² This is why the Fathers whose doctrine we are now considering, look upon the previous blessing of the water as almost necessary for the efficacy of the sacrament of baptism (BASIL., *De Spir. Sancto*, 66; GREG. NYSS., *De baptismo Christi*, P. G., XLVI, 581; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* III, 3).

¹⁴³ Vol. I, pp. 375-376.

tism of Arians, Manicheans, Montanists and Paulianists altogether void and useless (παντελῶς κενὸν καὶ ἀλυσιτελές — οὐδὲν εἰληφότες ἔσονται).¹⁴⁴ Didymus demands that the Eunomians and Montanists also be rebaptized: the former, he says, because they practise only one immersion and baptize only in the death of the Lord; the latter, because they do not baptize in the three divine Persons, whom they do not distinguish one from the other.¹⁴⁵ At Jerusalem, Cyril rejects the baptism of all heretics without exception,¹⁴⁶ whereas, on the contrary, Eusebius of Cæsarea deems the Roman tradition more ancient,¹⁴⁷ and St. Epiphanius insists that not even the Arians should be rebaptized, since there is no decision of the Church in this matter.¹⁴⁸

For the Cappadocians, the necessity of rebaptizing heretics could hardly be an open question, bound as they were by the tradition of Firmilian of Cæsarea. As has been already remarked, St. Gregory of Nazianzus does not demand sanctity of the minister of baptism: if he has not been openly condemned and reprovved by the Church, one may have recourse to his ministry; but St. Gregory demands, moreover, that his faith be that of the Church.¹⁴⁹ St. Basil enters into greater detail. After distinguishing *heretics* strictly so called, who err on points of faith, from *schismatics* who leave the Church chiefly on the question of penance (Nova-

¹⁴⁴ *C. arianos*, II, 42, 43. However L. SALTET (*Les réordinations*, pp. 45, 46) thinks that Athanasius changed his view afterwards, probably under the influence of the West. Cf. *Ad Serapion. epist.* I, 29, 30. It is well known that the 19th canon of the Council of Nicæa commands that the Paulianists who became converts be rebaptized; and yet St. Athanasius (*C. arianos*, II, 43) affirms that the Paulianists used the prescribed formula.

¹⁴⁵ *De trinit.*, II, 15, col. 720.

¹⁴⁶ *Procatech.*, 7. So also, in the 4th century, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VI, 15, and the *Apostolic Canons*, canon 69; cf. 46, 47.

¹⁴⁷ *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 2.

¹⁴⁸ *Expositio fidei catholicae*, 13.

¹⁴⁹ *Or.* XL, 26.

tians), and the dissenters who have conventicles of their own, he looks upon the baptism of the former as null, and receives them into the Church after another baptism. This is the case with the Montanists, Marcionites, Valentinians and Manicheans. As to the Novatians, Encratites, Hydroparastatæ, and others — who are mere schismatics and have conventicles of their own,— St. Basil expresses the opinion that every church must treat them according to local tradition and custom, and even according to what seems best in the circumstances. Personally he admits the baptism of the Novatians; but he rejects that of the Encratites, Saccophori (Hydroparastatæ) and Apotactics; however, he does not wish to enforce his decisions.¹⁵⁰

Immediately after baptism, confirmation was given. On coming up from the water, the neophyte received the imposition of the hands of the bishop,¹⁵¹ and the unction of perfumed oil (μύρον), by which he was made a perfect Christian. These rites completed, as it were, the rite of baptism, and therefore were not always clearly distinguished from it; the more so that there was the difficulty of explaining how they produced a special grace. For it was generally granted that baptism conferred the Holy Ghost. According to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (III, 17, 1; VII, 22, 2), this conferring of the Holy Spirit through baptism was the special effect of the unction with oil, which *preceded* the immersion. Naturally one might ask why there was another unction with perfumed oil *following* that immersion. However, several of the Greek Fathers of the 4th century do not

¹⁵⁰ *Epist.* CLXXXVIII, can. 1; *Epist.* CXLIX, can. 47.

¹⁵¹ Although this ceremony is explicitly mentioned neither by the Greek Fathers of the 4th century nor by the sacramentaries, it was certainly practised in the Greek Churches. Cf. L. DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 320, note 1, and p. 327, note 3 [English translation, 1904, pp. 330, 337]. Serapion's Euchologion perhaps alludes to it (XXV, 1). See Funk's note *in h. loc.*

fail to insist upon this second unction and to point out its efficacy. Didymus distinguishes it clearly from baptism,¹⁵² and St. Cyril devotes to it a special catechesis (XXI).

The perfumed oil (μύρον, χρίσμα) to be used for the unction, was previously blessed by the bishop.¹⁵³ Once blessed, it was no longer mere chrism (μύρον ψιλόν), according to the theory of St. Cyril; but, just as the Eucharistic bread becomes by the epiclesis the body of Christ, so likewise, through the invocation, the chrism becomes "Christ's charism, productive of the Holy Ghost, through the presence of His Divinity" (Χριστοῦ χάρισμα, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, παρουσία τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος, ἐνεργητικὸν γινόμενον).¹⁵⁴ The Holy Spirit is in the chrism as He is in the baptismal water, and He acts in it and through it. The perfumed oil is thus the antitype (ἀντίτυπον) of the Holy Ghost:¹⁵⁵ an expression which evidently does not signify that this oil is a mere symbol or image of Him, but that it contains Him and constitutes the element under which He exercises and conceals His action.

According to Didymus, the bishop alone can anoint the neophytes.¹⁵⁶ At Jerusalem, the unction was made upon the forehead, the ears, the nostrils and the chest.¹⁵⁷ The formula with which this action was accompanied and which has remained that of the Greek Church, is already given by St. Cyril: Σφραγὶς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἁγίου.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² *De trinit.*, II, 14, col. 712; II, 15, col. 720.

¹⁵³ See a formula of this blessing in Serapion's *Euchologion*, XXV.

¹⁵⁴ *Catech.* XXI, 3.

¹⁵⁵ *Catech.* XXI, 1.

¹⁵⁶ *De trinit.*, II, 15, col. 721, unless the blessing of the chrism itself is here alluded to: Ἐπίσκοπος δὲ μόνος τῇ ἄνωθεν χάριτι τελεῖ τὸ χρίσμα. The *Apostolic Constitutions*, which allows simple priests to baptize, demands also that the bishop anoint the neophytes with chrism (III, 16, 4). St. John Chrysostom remarks that, in the early days of the Church, the Apostles alone had the right to give the Holy Spirit through the imposition of hands (*In acta apost.*, hom. XVIII, 3).

¹⁵⁷ CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XXI, 4.

¹⁵⁸ *Catech.* XVIII, 33.

What was the proper effect of this sacrament thus understood? From its formula itself, we may infer that confirmation was looked upon as the rite which conferred the Holy Ghost. According to the teaching of St. Athanasius, this divine Person is an unction and a seal (χρῖσμα λέγεται τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ ἔστι σφραγίς);¹⁵⁹ hence He comes, after baptism, to confirm, perfect, finish and seal, as it were, the Christian life that has been acquired by the neophyte. He comes to strengthen him and render him able to resist victoriously the assaults of the evil spirit.¹⁶⁰

In connection with confirmation as well as in connection with baptism, the Fathers of whom we are speaking, use the word σφραγίς quite often, as has been seen from the formula with which the rite is accompanied. St. Cyril uses also the same word elsewhere.¹⁶¹ According to Didymus, the unction with chrism is σφραγίς Χριστοῦ ἐν μετόπῳ;¹⁶² in Serapion's Euchologion (XXV, 2), the newly baptized are strengthened by the seal (σφραγίδι) of the unction. The same expressions are met with in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VII, 22, 2). From all this we may infer that these authors held that, like baptism, confirmation marked with a character the one who received it, and therefore that it could not be repeated. As a matter of fact, we know that, when heretics, initiated into Christianity in some heretical sect, became converts, and when their baptism was looked upon as valid, they were received into the Church through the rite which conferred the Holy Spirit, *i. e.*, through confirmation, precisely because the belief was that heretics did not possess

¹⁵⁹ *Epist. ad Serapionem* I, 23.

¹⁶⁰ DIDYM., *De trinit.*, II, 14, col. 712; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* III, 13; XXI, 4; *Sacramentar. Serapionis*, XXV, 2; *Constitut. apostol.*, III, 17, 1; VII, 22, 2. In this last passage, the *Constitutions* does not look upon confirmation as necessary for salvation.

¹⁶¹ *Catech.* XVIII, 33; XXII, 7.

¹⁶² *De trinit.*, II, 14, col. 712.

the holy anointing with chrism and could not confer the Holy Ghost.¹⁶³

§ 6. The Eucharist.¹⁶⁴

The Eucharistic texts found in the Greek Fathers of the 4th century are so abundant that it would be both tedious and useless to quote them all. Most of them can be arranged in three categories. Some refer to the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, and state the fact that, after the consecration or the epiclesis, the Christian possesses, in the Sacrament, the Lord's body and blood. Others contain an attempt at explaining this fact, and bring forward the idea of change (conversion). Finally, still other texts emphasize especially the sacrificial character of the liturgical service.

Hence we may say, at the start, that, except in a few ambiguous expressions whose meaning can be easily cleared up, the Greek Fathers of the 4th century teach most plainly that the consecrated Eucharistic elements either contain, or are really, the body and blood of Jesus Christ. In his *Festal Letters*, St. Athanasius looks upon this truth as an undisputed belief, which he feels no need of proving (III, 3-5; V, 1, 5; VII, 5, 6; XIII, 7); but in a fragment of his sermon *Ad nuper baptisatos*, preserved by Eutychius of Constantinople, he speaks on the subject more at length:¹⁶⁵ "Thou shalt see the levites bring loaves and a chalice of wine, and place them on the table. As long as the invocations and prayers have not begun, there is only bread and

¹⁶³ DIDYMUS, *De trinit.*, II, 15, col. 720.

¹⁶⁴ See P. BATIFFOL, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, 2d series, 3d edit., Paris, 1906. G. RAUSCHEN, *Eucharistie und Buss-sakrament in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten der Kirche*, Freiburg im Br., 1908.

¹⁶⁵ P. G., XXVI, 1325. For the translation of this passage and of several other Eucharistic passages to be quoted later, cf. Mgr. Batiffol, *op. cit.*

wine. But, after the great and wonderful prayers have been pronounced, then the bread becomes the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and the wine becomes His blood. Let us come to the celebration of the mysteries. As long as the prayers and invocations have not taken place, this bread and this wine are simply [bread and wine]. But after the great prayers and the holy invocations have been pronounced, the Word descends into the bread and wine, and the body of the Word is." It is true, that, in order to represent Athanasius as a symbolist, some scholars have quoted and interpreted in a different sense, a passage of his IVth letter to Serapion, n. 19; but it is easy, if not to give an indisputable explanation of each term, at least to make out and justify the tendency and general meaning of the passage taken as a whole. In it St. Athanasius aims at proving that there are in Jesus two elements,—one human, which is the Son of man in the flesh, the other divine, which may suitably be called "Spirit." With this purpose in view, the Holy Doctor sets before us Jesus promising, it is true, the Apostles to give to them His body and blood—the body which He bore about Him and which was His humanity,—but to give it to them as a God, as a Spirit would do, to give it as a body of God, a heavenly body, a spiritual food (*πνευματικῶς*), which can become for every one of them a protection and a token of resurrection to life eternal.

Didymus the Blind also holds the realism of Athanasius.¹⁶⁶ But the Euchologion of Serapion and the homilies of Macarius contribute to the Eucharistic teaching new terms whose import we must accurately define. In the formula of anamnesis which he has left us, Serapion calls the bread and wine the resemblance (*ὁμοίωμα*) of the body and blood of the Only Begotten One (XIII, 12, 14). In his XXVIIth homily, n. 17, Macarius writes that prophets

¹⁶⁶ *De trinit.*, III, 21, col. 905; II, 6, col. 557.

and kings did not know "that in the Church bread and wine are offered, an antitype (ἀντίτυπον) of Christ's flesh and blood: they who partake of the visible bread, spiritually (πνευματικῶς) eat the flesh of the Lord." The word ἀντίτυπον, which Macarius uses here to express the relation of the Eucharistic bread and wine to the body and blood of Jesus, is met with in St. Cyril of Jerusalem,¹⁶⁷ St. Gregory of Nazianzus,¹⁶⁸ St. Epiphanius,¹⁶⁹ and the *Apostolic Constitutions*.¹⁷⁰

In order to find out the exact meaning of that word, we must first conclude our inquiry concerning the teaching of the Fathers on the real presence of Jesus in the Eucharist. After the anamnesis referred to just now, the Euchologion of Serapion places on the lips of the priest the following epiclesis: "O God of truth, let Thy Holy Word come upon this bread, that the bread may become body of the Word (ἵνα γένηται ὁ ἄρτος σῶμα τοῦ Λόγου), and upon this chalice, that the chalice may become blood of the Truth (ἵνα γένηται τὸ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς ἀληθείας), and make all who communicate, receive the medicine of life (XIII, 15; cf. XIV, 2; XVI, 2, 3). The *Apostolic Constitutions* has many quotations from the ordinary liturgical formulas, in which mention is made of the offering and of the receiving, by the faithful, of the Lord's body and blood.¹⁷¹ In his CXIIIth letter, St. Basil declares it is good and useful to communicate daily, *i. e.*, "to participate in the body and blood of Jesus Christ;" for, by doing so, we share in life more and more. At Cæsarea, he continues, the faithful communicate four times a week,—on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, and also on the commemoration days

¹⁶⁷ *Catech.* XXIII, 20; cf. XXII, 3.

¹⁶⁸ *Orat.* VIII, 18.

¹⁶⁹ *Haer.* LV, 6.

¹⁷⁰ V, 14, 7; VI, 30, 2; VII, 25, 4.

¹⁷¹ *Constit. apostol.*, II, 33, 2; 57, 15, 21; VIII, 12, 39; 13, 15; 14, 2.

of the Saints, whereas at Alexandria, every one of the faithful carries home the Communion and takes it when he chooses to do so. St. Gregory of Nazianzus exhorts his hearers to eat the body of Jesus and drink His blood without shame and hesitation. The priest who celebrates the Holy Mysteries draws down the Word by the sacred formulas, and, in using his voice as a sword and thus effecting an unbloody separation, he divides the body of the Lord from His blood.¹⁷² As we shall see later, St. Gregory of Nyssa is not content with affirming the reality of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist, he sketches a theory of the change that takes place in this Sacrament. Man, being made up of body and soul, must attain to eternal life by means of these two elements. The soul attains to it through faith. The body cannot attain to it, unless it be united through absorption and assimilation to the immortal and risen body of Jesus. This sacred body is the only antidote against the poison with which the human body has been infected, and it will transform this perishable body into itself; and besides, a body cannot be in another body, except by penetrating as food and drink even to the inmost depths of our being (διὰ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως τοῖς σπλάγχνοις καταμιγνόμενον).¹⁷³ As for St. Cyril of Jerusalem, his words on the subject of the real presence have become classical. They are to be found especially in the XXIInd catechesis:

“ Since He Himself [Christ] declared and said of the bread, *This is my body*, who shall dare to doubt any longer? And since He Himself affirmed and said, *This is my blood*, who shall ever hesitate, saying that it is not His blood? (1) . . . Wherefore with full assurance let us partake as of the body and blood of Christ. For in the figure (ἐν τύπῳ) of bread is given to thee His body, and in the figure of wine His blood;

¹⁷² *Orat.* XLV, 19; *Epist.* CLXXI.

¹⁷³ *Orat. catechet.*, 37; cf. *In baptism. Christi* (P. G., XLVI, 581).

that thou by partaking of the body and blood of Christ, mayest be made of the same body and the same blood with Him (σύσσωμος καὶ σύνναιμος αὐτοῦ). For thus we become Christ-bearers, because His body and blood are distributed through our members (3). . . . Consider therefore the bread and the wine not as bare elements, for they are, according to the Lord's declaration, the body and blood of Christ, for even though sense suggests this to thee, yet let faith establish thee. Judge not the matter from the taste, but from faith be fully assured without misgiving that thou art called to share in the body and blood of Christ (6). . . . Having learned these things, and been fully assured that the seeming bread is not bread, though sensible to taste, but the body of Christ; and that the seeming wine is not wine, though the taste will have it so, but the blood of Christ . . . strengthen thy heart and partake of this bread as of a spiritual [bread] " (9; and cf. XII, 1).

Evidently St. Cyril differentiates between the chrism of confirmation and the Eucharistic elements, as regards the action which the invocation of the Holy Ghost produces in them, although he seems elsewhere to place them, from this point of view, on the same level.¹⁷⁴ The chrism does *not* cease to be what it was, and merely receives the Holy Ghost in itself, in order that it may impart Him; on the contrary, the Eucharistic elements cease to be what they were; the bread that appears so, is bread no longer; the wine that appears so, is wine no longer; they are Christ's body and blood. Thus we understand why minute precautions are taken that nothing of it may be lost, and why St. Cyril recommends to those who communicate, that they form in their souls sentiments of the deepest veneration.¹⁷⁵ It is in an attitude and spirit of adoration that we must receive these sublime gifts, which are infinitely more precious than gold and jewels, and must be dearer to us than our own members.

¹⁷⁴ *Catech.* XXI, 3.

¹⁷⁵ *Catech.* XXIII, 21, 22.

These Fathers, then, are certainly realists, that is, they hold certainly that the Eucharist is truly the body and blood of Jesus, and yet these same Fathers call the bread and wine the *ὁμοίωμα*, the *ἀντίτυπον* of this body and blood. How account for their use of these words? Simply by the fact that, for the Fathers of whom we are speaking, the bread and wine, in their natural being or through a special ordinance of God or of Jesus, are already a figure, a symbol of the Savior's body and blood; and that these elements become, in fact, through the consecration — and in their species — the sensible signs of Christ's bodily presence, the real envelope in which He is contained and under which the faithful receive Him. In this connection we may recall that in St. Cyril's theory the chrism of confirmation is the *antitype* of the Holy Spirit.

The words *ὁμοίωμα*, *ἀντίτυπον*, although susceptible of a correct interpretation, must have appeared less accurate; hence we find them either omitted altogether or implicitly condemned by the strict and literal school of Antioch. "[Christ]," Theodore of Mopsuestia remarks, "did not say: *This is the symbol* (σύμβολον) *of my body, and this [the symbol] of my blood*, but *This is my body and my blood*, [thus] teaching us that we must not consider the nature of the *oblata*, but that, through the thanksgiving which is pronounced, there is a change (μεταβάλλεσθαι) into the body and blood."¹⁷⁶ As to St. John Chrysostom, being carried away both by his exegetical principles and his oratorical temperament, he pushes realism almost to the point of exaggeration,

¹⁷⁶ *In Matt.*, XXVI, 26 (*P. G.*, LXVI, 713). A similar remark is found in Macarius Magnes, a contemporary of Theodore: *Εικότως λαβὼν* (ὁ Χριστὸς) *ἄρτον καὶ ποτήριον εἶπε· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου. Οὐ γὰρ τύπος σώματος οὐδὲ τύπος αἵματος ὥς τινες ἐρραψώδησαν πεπωρωμένοι τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ γῆς, ἀπὸ γῆς δ' ὁ ἄρτος ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ οἶνος* (Ἀποκριτικός, III, 23, edit. BLONDEL, pp. 105, 106).

according to some. The faithful would seem truly to masticate the body of Jesus.

First he interprets literally the words of the promise (*John*, VI, 51-56): ¹⁷⁷ "Jesus has given to those who desire Him not only to see Him, but even to touch and eat Him, and fix their teeth in His flesh, and to embrace Him, and satisfy all their love." ¹⁷⁸ He will have no one explain verse 64 — *Verba quae ego locutus sum vobis spiritus et vita sunt* — in the sense that the words that go before are not to be taken literally, but to be referred to the spiritual and higher life of the Christian. *Caro non prodest quidquam*: this does not mean that what Jesus declared to be His flesh was not His flesh, but that a purely material and "capharnaïtic" manducation is useless.¹⁷⁹ The words of the institution are also interpreted literally:

"Let us in everything believe God, and gainsay Him in nothing, though what is said seem to be contrary to our thoughts and senses, but let His word be of higher authority than both reasonings and sight. Thus let us do in the mysteries also, not looking at the things set before us, but keeping in mind His sayings. His word cannot deceive, but our senses are easily beguiled. . . . Since then the word says, *This is my body*, let us both be persuaded and believe, and look at it with the eyes of the mind. For Christ hath given nothing sensible, but though in things sensible yet all are to be perceived by the mind. . . . How many now say, I would wish to see His form, His mark, His clothes, His shoes. Behold! Thou seest Him, thou touchest Him, thou eatest Him. Thou indeed desirest to see His clothes, but He giveth Himself to thee not to see only, but also to touch and eat and receive within thee."¹⁸⁰

The same note of realism is found in the commentary on

¹⁷⁷ *In Ioan.*, hom. XLVI, 2-4; hom. XLVII, 1.

¹⁷⁸ *In Ioan.*, hom. XLVI, 3.

¹⁷⁹ *In Ioan.*, hom. XLVII, 2.

¹⁸⁰ *In Matt.*, hom. LXXXII, 4.

I Cor., X, 16, *et seq.* Here the Holy Doctor insists still more emphatically, if possible, on the identity of the Eucharistic body of Jesus and of His historical body:

“That which is in the cup is that which flowed from His side, and of that do we partake. . . . That which Christ suffered not on the Cross, this He suffers in the oblation for thy sake, and submits to be broken, that He may fill all [the faithful]. . . . When thou seest the body of Christ set before thee, say thou to thyself. . . . This is the body which, being nailed and scourged, was more than death could stand against . . . This is even that body, the blood-stained, the pierced, and that from which gushed the saving fountains, the one of blood, the other of water, for all the world. . . . This body hath He given to us both to hold in our hands and to eat: O deed of infinite love!”¹⁸¹

Hence, taken as a whole, the teaching of the Greek Fathers of the 4th century is most assuredly in favor of the real presence of Christ's body and blood. But, in their eyes, how is this wonder wrought? As we have seen before, Theodore of Mopsuestia speaks of change (conversion: *μεταβολή*). The same idea is found in St. John Chrysostom. Although he speaks more in an oratorical than in a didactic way, and does not go to the bottom of the question, yet we can readily see what is in his mind:

“Christ is present; the same who adorned the table [of the last supper] adorns this too. For it is not man who makes the *oblata* to become the body and blood of Jesus Christ (*ὁ ποιῶν τὰ προκείμενα γενέσθαι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ*), but Christ Himself who was crucified for us. The priest stands, representing Him and speaking the solemn words; but it is the power and grace of God [that act]. *This is my body*, He says. This word transforms the *oblata* (*μεταρρυθμίζει*). . . . That voice once

¹⁸¹ *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, hom. XXIV, 1, 2, 4.

spoken [at the last supper] accomplishes the perfect sacrifice on every table in the churches from that time even till now and unto His coming." ¹⁸²

Again, in his LXXXIInd homily on St. Matthew, n. 5, the great orator takes up the same idea, and repeats that the *oblata* are not sanctified by the human power of the priest, but by Jesus Himself, who sanctifies and transforms them: ὁ δὲ ἀγιάζων αὐτὰ καὶ μετασκευάζων, αὐτὸς [ὁ Χριστός].

Furthermore, even before St. John Chrysostom, the theory of the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus had been outlined first by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and then by St. Gregory of Nyssa.

For the purpose of explaining the Eucharistic mystery, the former appeals to the Gospel: "Once in Cana of Galilee, Christ turned the water into wine, akin to blood; and we would not believe Him, when He changes (μεταβαλὼν) wine into blood?" ¹⁸³ Of course this is a miracle, but one that is more credible than the miracle at Cana, since it is concerned with the welfare of our souls: "We beseech the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the *oblata*, that He may make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine, the blood of Christ; for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched, is surely sanctified and changed (μεταβέβληται)." ¹⁸⁴ That it was "changed" more or less completely, we have seen from the other parts of Cyril's teaching; ¹⁸⁵ but here we are told that the change goes so far as to bring about the disappearance of the primitive elements. The author does not analyze his thought; but its general bearing is very plain. However, as the change above mentioned is altogether inward and unseen, and as Christ's body, although real, is not perceived by the senses, it follows that

¹⁸² *In prodicionem Iudae*, I, 6.

¹⁸³ *Catech.* XXII, 2.

¹⁸⁴ *Catech.* XXIII, 7; cf. XIX, 7.

¹⁸⁵ And cf. *Catech.* XIX, 7.

both — the change and Christ's body — are perceived only by faith, and remain within the field of the spiritual realities that appeal chiefly to the Christian soul.¹⁸⁶ The body is a spiritual bread; the blood, a spiritual wine.¹⁸⁷ They are not an ordinary food that goes through the process of digestion; they are a supersubstantial (ἐπιούσιος) food, destined to keep up the life both of the soul and of the body.¹⁸⁸

This is a very simple, though somewhat timid, explanation of the Eucharistic change. The explanation given by St. Gregory of Nyssa is bolder and more scientific. After stating in his *Oratio catechetica*, n. 37, the fact of the real presence, as we have seen, he raises frankly the question and asks how it becomes possible that this one body of Jesus Christ, which is distributed to thousands of Christians all over the world, should be given whole and entire to every one of those who receive it, and yet remain in itself whole and entire, and not be divided. This St. Gregory explains by the change of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. When He was upon earth, Jesus fed His body, He ate and drank, and the food thus taken was changed into the nature of His body (πρὸς τοῦ σώματος φύσιν μεθισταμένης). The same action takes place in the Eucharist: "Rightly do we believe that the bread which is sanctified by the word of God is changed into the body of God the Word": τὸν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγιαζόμενον ἄρτον εἰς σῶμα τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου μεταποιεσθαι πιστεύομεν.¹⁸⁹ The bread is πρὸς τὸ σῶμα διὰ τοῦ λόγου μεταποιούμενος, according to the words of the divine Word: *This is my body*; but, instead of following the slow process of gradual assimilation (διὰ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως), the μεταποίησις occurs instantaneously, εὐθύς. What we have said of the

¹⁸⁶ *Catech.* IV, 9.

¹⁸⁷ *Id.*, IV, 8.

¹⁸⁸ *Id.*, XXIII, 15.

¹⁸⁹ Migne's edition has πιστεύομαι; I prefer the reading of J. H. SRAWLEY, *The Catechetical Oration of Gregory of Nyssa*, Cambridge, 1903.

bread must be said also of the wine which is changed into the blood; and thus, by the efficacy of the blessing, the Word changes into the elements of His body the nature of the elements that appear to the eyes (τῇ τῆς εὐλογίας δυνάμει πρὸς ἐκεῖνο σῶμα μεταστοιχειώσας τῶν φαινομένων τὴν φύσιν). The result is that, through this union with the body of a God, we are deified; and through this communion with the incorruptible, we ourselves become incorruptible.

It cannot be denied that, in all this argument, reference is made to a real change. It is true that, in support of the contrary, some have appealed to the fact that Gregory uses elsewhere ¹⁹⁰ the words μεταποίησις, μετάστασις, μεταστοιχείωσις, in the sense of a mere moral change; but the comparison which the Holy Doctor himself makes between the Eucharistic change and the change undergone by assimilated food, suffices to show the insufficiency of that explanation. On the other hand, it must be granted that Gregory does not speak of the change of the οὐσία of the bread and wine. He *does* speak of the change of their φύσις and of that of their στοιχεῖα; and when he comes to mention the change of the food into the body, he says simply that this food is changed into the form (εἶδος) and nature (φύσις) of the body. From that it has been inferred ¹⁹¹ that he did not teach transubstantiation properly so called, but rather the transformation of the Eucharistic elements, the matter remaining exactly the same and being merely informed with Christ's bodily form. In truth, these are determinations of thought which escaped St. Gregory's attention and whose absence decreases in no way the force of his testimony. Even supposing that he did not express himself as completely as theologians were to do later, still it remains true that he explicitly directed Christian thought towards the idea of transubstantiation.

¹⁹⁰ For instance *Orat. catech.*, 40; *Epist.* III (P. G., XLVI, 1021).

¹⁹¹ HARNACK, *Lehrb. der DG.*, II, p. 462; *Hist. of Dogma*, vol. IV, p. 296.

And in fact, where in nature could he have found an instance of what this word represents?

The reader must have noticed that St. Cyril of Jerusalem attributes the Eucharistic change to the epiclesis, that is, the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the offerings.¹⁹² This view, which is common among the Greeks of that epoch, is also found in the works of St. Basil,¹⁹³ in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VIII, 12, 36) and in the *Euchologion* of Serapion (XIII, 15). In this last document, it is rather strange that the anamnesis — or recalling of the words of the institution (XIII, 12–14) — should always style the bread and wine the *ὁμοίωμα* of the body and blood; it is only in the epiclesis which follows, that the priest beseeches God to send “His Holy Word upon this bread, that the bread may become body of the Word, and upon this chalice, that the chalice may become blood of the Truth.” St. Chrysostom, however, is an exception. He attributes the change of the *oblata* sometimes to the epiclesis,¹⁹⁴ but sometimes, too, as in the passages we have quoted before, to the words of the institution.

Again, the reader must have noticed that the Greek Fathers of that time see in the Eucharist, not only a sacrament, but a sacrifice also. The liturgical service is a sacrifice,¹⁹⁵ a spotless, living, spiritual, unbloody and perfect sacrifice.¹⁹⁶ After calling the bread the similitude of Christ's body, the *Euchologion* of Serapion says also that, in this sacrifice, the similitude of the death (*ὁμοίωμα τοῦ θανάτου*) of the same Christ is celebrated (XIII, 13); and

¹⁹² *Catech.* XXIII, 7; XXI, 3.

¹⁹³ *De Spiritu Sancto*, 66.

¹⁹⁴ *De sacerdotio*, III, 4; VI, 4; *De s. Pentec.*, hom. I, 4.

¹⁹⁵ *Serapion. sacramentar.*, XIII, 11; *Constitut. apostol.*, II, 57, 21; V, 19, 7; VIII, 12, 39; 46, 11.

¹⁹⁶ DIDYM., *De trinit.*, II, 7, col. 589; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XXIII, 8; CHRYSOST., *In s. Eustathium antiochenum*, 2; *De proditiōe Iudae*, hom. I, 6; *Constitut. apostol.*, VIII, 5, 7; 46, 15; cf. VIII, 46, 14.

just as St. Gregory of Nazianzus calls the Eucharistic elements "the antitypes of the precious body and blood," so he speaks likewise of the sacrifice as being "the antitype of the great mysteries," that is, of the Savior's passion and death.¹⁹⁷ The liturgical act is thus closely connected with the redeeming death of Jesus. In it, as on Calvary, there goes on a mystical immolation which the same St. Gregory tries to define when he speaks of that unbloody separation in which the body of the Savior is divided from His blood, and whose instrument, whose "sword" is the word of the priest.¹⁹⁸ Of all these authors, however, St. John Chrysostom is the one who has most insisted on the identity of the sacrifice of the altar and that of Calvary. He affirms not only that the priest standing at the altar is the minister of Jesus Christ, the chief priest, whose words bring about the Eucharistic change;¹⁹⁹ he affirms also that the sacrifice of the altar is the same as that of the Cross, or rather that it is merely its commemoration, since the victim is the same,²⁰⁰ and he always tells us that in the Eucharist Christ is in the same state in which He was during His passion; His blood is shed; His body is pierced with nails and scourged; blood and water flow from His side.²⁰¹

The details of the Eucharistic liturgy of that period in Egypt, at Jerusalem and in Syria, are known to us through the Euchologion of Serapion, the XXIII^d catechesis of St. Cyril and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VIII). It will suffice to notice in that liturgy the commemoration of the dead.²⁰² St. Athanasius and St. John Chrysostom insisted

¹⁹⁷ *Orat.* II, 95; cf. XVII, 12.

¹⁹⁸ "Ὅταν ἀναιμάκτῳ τομῇ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τέμνης δεσποτικόν, φωνὴν ἔχων τὸ ξίφος (*Epist.* CLXXI).

¹⁹⁹ *In prodicionem Iudae*, hom. I, 6; *In Matth.*, hom. LXXXII, 5.

²⁰⁰ *In epist. ad Hebr.*, hom. XVII, 3.

²⁰¹ *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, hom. XXIV, 1, 2, 4.

²⁰² CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XXIII, 10; *Serapion. sacram.*, XIII, 17, 18; *Constit. apostol.*, VIII, 12, 6.

in a special manner on the purity of soul required for Holy Communion,²⁰³ and the latter also, on the close union which Holy Communion establishes between the Savior and each Christian, and among Christians themselves.²⁰⁴

§ 7. Penance.²⁰⁵ Holy Orders. Matrimony.

It is rather difficult to sum up in a well connected and complete synthesis the penitential doctrine of the Greek Church during the 4th century, the more so that different customs prevailed in various churches, and these customs are but imperfectly known to us.

In the festal letters of St. Athanasius, exhortations to penance as a preparation for the Easter solemnities rightly hold a prominent place; however we learn nothing from them as to the practical manner in which penance was performed. At most we can quote the XIXth letter, n. 8, where the Holy Doctor urges the faithful to prepare for the Easter Communion, *paenitente animo et confessione*.

The Cappadocians are more explicit. St. Gregory of Nazianzus first proves against the Novatians the efficacy of penance and the possibility of forgiveness after baptism.²⁰⁶ St. Gregory of Nyssa and particularly St. Basil speak with still more precision. Both mention the obligation of declaring the sins of which one may be guilty, at least such as are comparatively grievous, which St. Gregory of Nyssa endeavors to classify.²⁰⁷ This declaration which, at least in some circumstances, is certainly secret,²⁰⁸ is made perhaps

²⁰³ ATHAN., *Epist. eortaticae*, V, 5; XIX, 8; CHRYSOST., *In Matth.*, hom. LXXXII, 4-6; *De prodit. Iudae*, hom. I, 6.

²⁰⁴ *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, hom. XXIV, 2.

²⁰⁵ See G. RAUSCHEN, *Eucharistie und Buss sakrament in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten der Kirche*, Freiburg im Br., 1908.

²⁰⁶ *Orat.* XXXIX, 17-19.

²⁰⁷ BASIL., *In psalm.* XXXII, 3 (*P. G.*, XXIX, 332); *Regulae brev. tractatae*, Interrog. 229, 288; GREG. NYSS., *Epist. canonica* (*P. G.*, XLV, 233; 221 and foll.).

²⁰⁸ BASIL., *Epist.* CXCIX, 34; GREG. NYSS., *Epist. canon.*, col. 233.

to the bishop alone (ἱερεῖ),²⁰⁹ or, as St. Basil says in a more general way, to those who have been entrusted with the dispensing of the mysteries of God.²¹⁰ The observances that were imposed upon penitents varied in duration and were in proportion not only to the grievousness of the sin, but also to the fervor with which the penance was performed.²¹¹ The penitential exercises lasted the whole lifetime for apostates only, and for them reconciliation took place only when they were at the point of death.²¹² It is well known that in the churches of Cappadocia, ever since the time of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus,²¹³ the expiation consisted in the separation of the penitents from the Christian assembly during the liturgical service. There were four degrees of penance: the *πρόσκλαυσις*, which was the state of the "weepers," who stayed outside the church; the *ἀκροάσις*, the state of the "hearers," who assisted at the reading of Holy Writ and at the sermon; the *ὑπόπτασις*, the state of the "prostrate," who assisted at the prayer, on their knees; lastly, the *σύστασις*, the state of those penitents who remained standing during the whole office, but did not participate in the Communion.

The attitude of St. John Chrysostom on the subject of penance is somewhat peculiar, and, on this point, we must carefully distinguish between the time of his ministry at Antioch and that of his ministry at Constantinople. During the former period, he affirms that priests have the power of forgiving sins, that is to say, not merely the power of declaring them remitted, but that of truly remitting them;²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ GREG. NYSS., *loc. cit.*, col. 233.

²¹⁰ *Regulae brev. tract.*, Interrog. 288.

²¹¹ BASIL., *Epist.* CCXVII, 74.

²¹² BASIL., *Epist.* CCXVII, 73; GREG. NYSS., *Epist. canon.*, col. 225.

²¹³ *Epist. canonica* (P. G., X, 1020-1048). The reader will observe that the XIth canon is not authentic.

²¹⁴ *De sacerdotio*, III, 6. We may notice that, in this connection, he quotes the text of St. James, V, 14, 15: *Infirmatur quis in vobis*, etc.

that any one who wishes to be cured must show his wounds to the physician,²¹⁵ and that confession blots out sins completely.²¹⁶ Hence he urges sinners to confess their faults, to make the exomologesis before communicating.²¹⁷

But, after his arrival at Constantinople, he found himself face to face with peculiar difficulties. We learn from Socrates²¹⁸ that, after the schism of the Novatians, that is after the year 250, the bishops — probably only those of Thrace — had decided that henceforth there should be in every church a priest to whom sinners should confess the sins committed after baptism and under whose direction they should accomplish the various penitential observances. This practice lasted at Constantinople till about the year 391, when the scandal caused by the revelation of a sin which a noble lady had committed with a deacon, led the Patriarch Nectarius to suppress not only the function of priest penitentiary but also, probably, the obligation for sinners to make known their sins and obtain forgiveness before approaching the Holy Mysteries, it being left to the conscience of every one to know what he had to do.²¹⁹ As Socrates observes, about the year 450, this measure, which

²¹⁵ *In Genesim*, hom. XXX, 5. Elsewhere he seems to require confession to God only (*De paenitentia*, hom. II, 1; III, 4; *In Lazarum*, hom. IV, 4).

²¹⁶ *De Davide et Saule*, hom. III, 2; *In Matth.*, hom. VI, 5; *De paenit.*, hom. VIII, 2; *In Genesim*, hom. V, 2.

²¹⁷ *In eos qui pascha ieiunant*, 4.

²¹⁸ *Hist. eccl.*, V, 19.

²¹⁹ Sozomen, who while commenting on the text of Socrates, reproduces it, adds that almost everywhere — that is in the Greek Eastern Churches — the bishops followed the example of Nectarius. However, we are inclined to believe that his testimony must be understood only of a relatively small part of the Christian East, from the fact that, on the contrary, Asterius of Amasia (end of the 4th century) advises the faithful to take a priest as the confidant of their faults and the witness of their contrition (*Homil. XIII, Adhortatio ad paenitentiam*, P. G., XL, 369). On this question, cf. P. BATIFFOL, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, I, p. 149 and foll.

was too radical, caused many Christians to care very little whether they did penance or not before communicating.

What attitude St. Chrysostom took in these circumstances, we do not know with certainty. However, his IXth homily on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, preached at Constantinople during the year 402, taken in connection with the charges that were brought against him afterwards, may throw some light on his sentiments at that time. In this homily (4), after observing that penance (μετανοία) blots out all sins, the Holy Doctor describes the way in which penance must be done. It comprises first the condemnation (κατάγνωσις) and the confession (ἐξαγόρευσις) of one's sins; then, humiliation and contrition of heart (συντριβὴ καρδίας); also prayers, tears, alms-deeds, which give to penance its efficacy and value, in a word, good works of satisfaction. There is no reference to absolution; however, the Saint comes back in n. 5 to the examination and confession of one's sins, and then he insists that the sinner who wishes to correct himself must declare his sins in detail (κατ' εἶδος), and not simply say vaguely that he has sinned, but say ὅτι τὸδε καὶ τὸδε ἥμαρτον.

But in all this passage, there is no explicit mention of the priest or of the bishop receiving the confession; nay, in n. 5, it is difficult to see whether the Saint refers to a confession strictly so called, or merely to a detailed examination in which the sinner gives unto himself an account of his conduct. On the other hand, we know that one of the charges made against St. John Chrysostom at the Oak Synod, was that he had exhorted even relapsed penitents to come to him and be healed as often as they might fall into sin;²²⁰ and in fact Socrates²²¹ reproaches him with failing to comply with the decision of the bishops who authorized but once penance for sins committed after baptism, and with

²²⁰ MANSI, *Collect. concilior.*, III, 1145. Cf. HEFELE, *History of the Councils*, vol. II, p. 436.

²²¹ *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 21.

allowing sinners to have recourse to that penance as often as they pleased. After comparing the facts and the texts that refer to the case, it is safe, I think, to conclude that, although he did not set aside abruptly the measure adopted by Nectarius, St. Chrysostom continued to abide by the doctrine which he had followed at Antioch and insisted that the former *cursus* of penance should be resumed. As to the accusation brought against him at the Oak Synod, it rests probably on a misunderstanding. It is quite likely that the Bishop did not authorize the renewal of the canonical penance, but the renewal of the strictly private penance, which comprised secret accusation, expiation and absolution.

As regards Extreme Unction, we find among the Greeks at this time nothing to mention, except, perhaps, the prayer *in oleum aegrotorum*, found in the Euchologion of Serapion (XXIX).

It is especially writings on disciplinary topics, which we must consult for information on the subject of Holy Orders and ordinations. Towards the end of the 4th century, the number of orders increased in the East, and, besides bishops, priests and deacons, there are also subdeacons.²²² The lectorate was already in existence. Exorcists begin to appear, but from the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VIII, 26) we learn that they do not constitute an order properly so called. This document mentions also *ostiarii* and *cantores*.²²³ Again, St. Epiphanius refers to exorcists, interpreters (ἐρμηνευεται ἡ γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν), *fossore*s and lastly *ostiarii*.²²⁴

²²² *Constit. apostol.*, VIII, 21, 1. There may have been subdeacons in some Syrian churches, as early as the end of the 3d century (Cf. *Didascalia of the Apostles*, edit. FUNK, II, 34, 3).

²²³ *Constit. apostol.*, II, 26, 3; 28, 5; 57, 10; III, 11, 1, 3; VI, 17, 2; VII, 45, 2.

²²⁴ *Expositio fidei*, 20.

Deaconesses still continued to play an important part.²²⁵ All the orders were given through the imposition of hands;²²⁶ but, even as regards the lower orders, this imposition of hands (χειροτονία) was expressly reserved to the bishop.²²⁷ It was accompanied with prayers whose formulas are given in the Euchologion of Serapion (XXVI–XXVIII) and in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VIII, 5; 16–22). These rites have for their effect, St. Gregory of Nyssa remarks, to set the priest apart from the common faithful, and to produce in him, although he remains externally the same, an inner transformation through an unseen grace and efficacy. Gregory compares this transformation to the consecration of altars, and even to the Eucharistic change,—a comparison which shows that, in St. Gregory's eyes, this transformation implies a stable and permanent character.²²⁸ I leave aside the canonical rules pertaining to the choice of the candidates for ordination, as well as the obligations binding upon them, for these are questions of discipline, not of dogma.

As regards matrimony, it engaged the attention of the Fathers and became subject to ecclesiastical regulations that were quite definite, although its sacramental character was not then clearly perceived. Matrimony itself was null, if entered into without the consent of the father or that of the master.²²⁹ Likewise, no one was allowed to marry his sister-in-law.²³⁰ Divorce was allowed in case of adultery, but in that case only;²³¹ furthermore, St. Basil explains

²²⁵ *Constit. apostol.*, VIII, 19.

²²⁶ *Id.*, VIII, 16–22; 27.

²²⁷ "A priest imposes his hands (for instance, to bless)," we read in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, "but he does not ordain," χειροθετεῖ, οὐ χειροτονεῖ (VIII, 38, 3; 46, 11; III, 11, 3).

²²⁸ *In baptismum Domini* (P. G., XLVI, 585).

²²⁹ BASIL., *Epist.* CXCIX, 42.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 23; *Epist.* CCXVII, 78; cf. 68; CLX.

²³¹ GREG. NAZ., *Orat.* XXXVII, 8.

that, because of a custom which he thinks is abnormal, although it cannot be set aside, this privilege exists only for the husband. The husband who has dismissed his wife is not an adulterer if he remarries; the wife can neither dismiss her husband, even though he is an adulterer, nor remarry, if she is dismissed by him.²³² We find almost the same solution in St. Chrysostom. He says plainly that, as regards the woman, marriage is absolutely indissoluble. For whatever motive she is dismissed, she cannot remarry; once she has been joined to her husband, she remains his wife, as long as she lives.²³³ As to the husband, the Holy Doctor is less positive; and although he insists, most of the time, on the absolute indissolubility of the marital bond, he does not seem plainly to forbid the husband who has legitimately divorced his wife to remarry;²³⁴ however, he declares that, in case of adultery on the part of the wife, the marriage is already dissolved (ὁ γάμος ἤδη διαλελύσεται), and that the husband is no longer husband (μετὰ τὴν πορνείαν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ).²³⁵

As to a second and especially a third and a fourth marriage, they are looked upon with suspicion, or even condemned altogether: "The first [marriage]," says St. Gregory of Nazianzus, "is law, the second is toleration, the third is transgression (παρανομία)." The fourth is simply "swinish."²³⁶ Almost the same judgment is reproduced in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (III, 2, 2). St. Basil condemns to one or two years of penance those who have been married twice.²³⁷ A third marriage, he declares,

²³² *Epist.* CLXXXVIII, 9; CXCIX, 21.

²³³ *De libello repudii*, II, 1, 3.

²³⁴ *In Matth.*, homil. XVII, 4; LXII, 1, 2.

²³⁵ *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, hom. XIX, 3. According to St. Epiphanius, a second marriage can take place only after the death of the other party: he does not allude to divorce for adultery (*Expositio fidei*, 20).

²³⁶ *Orat.* XXXVII, 8.

²³⁷ *Epist.* CLXXXVIII, 4.

is contracted outside the law and looked upon as a stain (ῥυτίσματα) or as a moderate fornication. Those who have been married three times have to do penance during five years.²³⁸ It is probable that, in the 80th canon of his CCXVIIth letter, he refers to those who have been married four times: they must submit to four years of penance, but among the "weepers" and the "prostrate."

§ 8. Mariology. Honor paid to the Saints. Christian Practices.

Often it has been said that the chief impetus in favor of the devotion to Mary in the Church came from the definitions of the Council of Ephesus in the year 431. This may be true. However, long before that time, Greek theologians had dwelt on the prerogatives of the Mother of God. St. Justin and St. Irenæus had already assigned to her a share in the work of redemption, an idea which was taken up and developed by Amphilochius²³⁹ and St. Epiphanius.²⁴⁰ During the 4th century, as we have seen, the word θεοτόκος became quite commonly used to designate Mary. Her perpetual virginity especially attracted attention. From St. Epiphanius we learn that, at the same time as the error of Helvidius in the West, there was in the East the error of the Antidicomarianites who affirmed that, after bringing forth Jesus, Mary had had intercourse with St. Joseph. The Saint protests against this opinion and proclaims Mary's virginity *in partu* and *post partum*.²⁴¹ A similar protest comes from Didymus, who salutes Mary as the ἀειπαρθένος, ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἄμωμος παρθένος.²⁴² Nay, there were found some overzealous

²³⁸ *Epist.* CXCIX, 50; CLXXXVIII, 4.

²³⁹ *Oratio I in Christi natalem*, I, 4; *Oratio II in occursum Domini*, 3.

²⁴⁰ *Haer.* LXXVIII, 18.

²⁴¹ *Haer.* LXXVIII. We may notice that St. Epiphanius observes in passing that, after all, we do not know whether Mary ever died (*ibid.*, 24).

²⁴² *De trinit.*, I, 27, col. 404; III, 4, col. 832. Cf. AMPHILOCHIUS, *loc. cit.*

devotees, the Collyridians, who offered sacrifices to Mary. St. Epiphanius who mentions them,²⁴³ reproves their ignorant zeal, and observes that, as Mary is a holy creature, she must be honored, but not adored: Τὴν Μαρίαν μηδεὶς προσκυνεῖτω — καὶ εἰ καλλίστη ἡ Μαρία καὶ ἁγία, καὶ τετιμημένη, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι.²⁴⁴

This honor paid to the Blessed Virgin is also paid to the saints; for, according to the principle formulated also by St. Epiphanius, "whoever honors God, honors the saint; whoever despises the saint, despises the Lord of the saint."²⁴⁵ Panegyrics are pronounced on their feast-days, for the purpose of recalling their virtues; the faithful are exhorted to invoke them, because their power with God, St. Chrysostom remarks, is great (πολλὴν ἔχοντας παρρησίαν),²⁴⁶ the more so, adds St. Gregory of Nazianzus, that they are now much nearer to God than during their sojourn here below.²⁴⁷ Religious reverence is paid, not only to their blessed souls, but also to their relics;²⁴⁸ and while proclaiming the supernatural power and efficacy of these precious remains, St. John Chrysostom describes the religious eagerness with which the faithful gather round the tombs of the servants of God.²⁴⁹

Of the other Christian practices I shall mention one that is closely connected with dogma, namely, prayers for the dead. This practice is spoken of and observed all over the

²⁴³ *Haer.* LXXIX.

²⁴⁴ *Id.*, 7.

²⁴⁵ *Haer.* LXXVIII, 21; cf. *GREG. NAZ., Or.* XLIII, 2.

²⁴⁶ *Adv. Iudaeos*, VIII, 6; *De s. Meletio antioch.*, 3; *In Genesim*, hom. XLIV, 2; *In Matth.*, hom. V, 5; *In epist. II ad Timoth.*, hom. V, 1.

²⁴⁷ *Orat.* XVIII, 4.

²⁴⁸ *GREG. NYSS., De s. Theodoro martyre* (*P. G.*, XLVI, 740).

²⁴⁹ *Exposit. in psalm.* CXV, 5; IX, 3; *In epist. II ad Corinth.*, hom. XXVI, 5; *In s. Eustathium antioch.*, 2. When we come to the controversy concerning images, all the ancient texts that refer to the honor paid to images will be gathered together.

East during the 4th century, as is attested by St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. John Chrysostom.²⁵⁰ Against the Aerians who deemed the suffrages for the dead useless, St. Epiphanius writes as follows: "Even though it does not blot out all sins, the prayer made for them [the departed] is profitable to them; for, while we are in this world, it happens often that willingly or unwillingly we waver in choosing what is more perfect."²⁵¹ Formulas for the funeral service are given by the Euchologion of Serapion and the *Apostolic Constitutions*.²⁵²

Furthermore, side by side with the whole worship and ceremonial, the various forms of asceticism — monachism and celibacy — develop also during this epoch. After describing the official hierarchy of the Church, St. Epiphanius sets before us, in an interesting page, the plan of another mystical hierarchy, based neither on privileges nor on powers, but on holiness of life. First comes virginity, which is, so to speak, the basis, the hinge of the Church; next, the solitary life (anchorets); then, continency (ἐγκράτεια); then, widowhood, and last the married state.²⁵³

§ 9. Eschatology.

Millenarianism is not to be found in the Greek Church of the 4th century. Origen's authority had done away with it for ever. Nay, the belief seems to be that the entrance of the just into glory is without any delay whatever. True, St. John of Damascus quotes a fragment, which he ascribes to St. Athanasius, according to which the felicity of the just

²⁵⁰ GREG. NAZ., *Or.* VII, 17; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XXIII, 10; CHRYSOST., *In epist. ad Philip.*, hom. III, 4; *In acta apostol.*, hom. XXI, 1.

²⁵¹ *Haer.* LXXV, 7; cf. *Expositio fidei*, 22.

²⁵² Serapion, *sacrament.*, XXX; *Constit. apost.*, VIII, 41; 42; cf. VIII, 12, 43; 13, 6.

²⁵³ *Expositio fidei*, 20.

is to be postponed till after the resurrection; ²⁵⁴ but the authenticity of this text is doubtful, and we may oppose to it a well authenticated passage in the *Life of St. Anthony* (66), in which the Holy Doctor supposes, on the contrary, that the souls of the just are received immediately into Heaven. This is also the view of Macarius of Alexandria, of the two St. Gregories and of St. John Chrysostom. ²⁵⁵

The dogma of the resurrection of the body had been held from the beginning, and it had only to be defended against the many and various objections of heretics and philosophers, and this was done by St. John Chrysostom and St. Epiphanius. ²⁵⁶ But the special manner in which this resurrection is to take place had to be more accurately stated. In this regard, Origen's theories had given rise to obscurities which disturbed the simple primitive faith; and besides, it remained to be explained how the very same elements that had made up the body here below could unite again and be joined to the soul. As regards the Origenist theories, it would be of interest to know exactly the views of Didymus on the subject. Unfortunately, what remains of his works ²⁵⁷ is so incomplete as to baffle all attempts at a proper estimate. On the other hand, we see St. Epiphanius bring forward against Origen a strong and lengthy refutation. ²⁵⁸ It is our present body, though of course transformed and, in some sense, spiritualized, that will rise again. ²⁵⁹ The same teaching is met with in Amphilo-

²⁵⁴ P. G., XXVI, 1249.

²⁵⁵ MACAR., *Homil.* XXXIV, 2; GREG. NAZ., *Or.* VII, 21; GREG. NYSS., *In funere Pulcheriae orat.* (P. G., XLVI, 869); CHRYSOST., *De beato Philogonio*, VI, 1.

²⁵⁶ EPIPH., *Ancoratus*, 83 and foll.; CHRYSOST. *In acta apostol.*, hom. I, 5; *De resurrectione mortuorum*, 7; *In sanctum Romanum martyrem*, I, 4; *In Genesim*, sermo VII, 4; *In Ioan.*, hom. XLVI, 4; *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, hom. XVII, 2.

²⁵⁷ *Fragmenta in Ioannem*, V, 29, col. 1645.

²⁵⁸ *Ancoratus*, 87-92.

²⁵⁹ *Expositio fidei catholicae*, 17.

chius²⁶⁰ and St. Cyril of Jerusalem: αὐτὸ τοῦτο (σῶμα) ἐγείρεται: τοῦτο, and not τοιοῦτον, for the bodies of the just will assume supernatural properties, whereas the bodies of the wicked will be made capable of burning eternally, without being consumed.²⁶¹ As to the manner in which one may conceive the possibility of the resurrection, and notwithstanding the continuous mobility of the material elements, the identity of the risen body with the living body, St. Gregory of Nyssa has left, in his treatise *De anima et resurrectione*, a long essay on the solution of the problem.²⁶² Gregory first lays down the principle that the resurrection will be for us a restoration to the primitive state which we have lost through the fault of Adam: ἀνάστασις ἐστὶν ἡ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀποκατάστασις (col. 148). Hence all that is a consequence of sin,—death, infirmities, deformities, sicknesses, wounds, old age, differences of ages—will be excluded from risen bodies. Human nature will not cease to be human (ἐαυτὴν οὐκ ἀφίησιν), but it will pass into a higher spiritual and impassible state (εἰς πνευματικὴν τινα καὶ ἀπαθῆ κατὰστασιν), independent of the amount of original matter which has successively become a portion of the body here below.

But on the last day, the soul is to be reunited at least with a certain amount of those material elements which constituted the body. How can the soul discern these elements from out the whole mass? St. Gregory remarks, in his answer, that each body, notwithstanding the unceasing changes of its elements, presents a type which can be recognized and does not change substantially. This type is known to the soul: it has been stamped, as it were, upon the soul during

²⁶⁰ Fragm. X, col. 108.

²⁶¹ *Catech.* XVIII, 18, 19; CHRYSOST., *De consolatione mortis*, 6; *De Anna*, sermo I, 3; *In epist. I ad Thessalonic.*, hom. VII, 1, 2; *In Ioannem*, hom. XLV, 2.

²⁶² *P. G.*, XLVI.

this mortal life, and therefore, even after death, the latter preserves for that type and for the matter of which the body was made up, a sort of attraction, a sort of affinity, by means of which it can discern the elements that are its own property, in the whole mass into which they have fallen. Moreover, it follows these elements and constantly watches over them, as it were, till the moment of the resurrection, when it will take from them what is necessary for the new body.²⁶³

The resurrection will be followed by the judgment, of which St. Gregory of Nazianzus has left us a description.²⁶⁴ The just will be rewarded according to their deserts, the wicked, punished.²⁶⁵ Will this punishment of the reprobate be everlasting? From the answer given to this question, we may judge of Origen's influence over the Fathers whom we are studying. Now what we see is this: while most of them preserve on this subject the traditional language, some have been shaken or even won over by the authority of their great master. As far as we know it, the teaching of Didymus is accurate.²⁶⁶ St. Basil, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Epiphanius and St. John Chrysostom follow very firmly the traditional view.²⁶⁷ In hell, St. Basil remarks, the Holy Ghost is completely separated from the sinful soul, and therefore the latter is incapable of penance.²⁶⁸ Faithful to his method of literal interpretation, St. Chrysostom

²⁶³ *De anima et resurrect.*, cols. 73-80, 145 and foll.; *De hominis opificio*, 27 (P. G., XLIV, 225-229); *De mortuis* (P. G., XLVI, 532-536).

²⁶⁴ *Orat.* XVI, 9; XIX, 15.

²⁶⁵ BASIL., *Regulae brev. tract.*, Interrog. 267.

²⁶⁶ *De trinit.*, II, 3, col. 480; II, 7, col. 580; II, 12, col. 669; III, 42, col. 989; *De Spir. Sancto*, 47, 59.

²⁶⁷ BASIL., *Regulae brev. tract.*, Interrog. 267; *De Spiritu Sancto*, 40; CYRILL. HIER., *Catech.* XVIII, 14, 19; EPIPH., *Haer.* LIX, 10; CHRYSOST., *loc. inf. cit.*

²⁶⁸ *De Spiritu Sancto*, 40.

draws from Scripture a picture of hell;²⁶⁹ then he adds that neither the body that has become immortal, nor the soul shall perish in the midst of these tortures. Neither time, nor friendship, nor hope, nor the expectation of death, nor even the sight of their wretched fellow-sufferers will ever assuage the pains of the reprobate. These pains will be eternal.²⁷⁰ However, St. Basil has to confess that most men (τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων), being deceived by the wiles of Satan, are persuaded that the punishments of the other life will come to an end.²⁷¹ Alas! among these "deceived" men he might have reckoned his brother, Gregory of Nyssa, and, in some measure, his bosom-friend, Gregory of Nazianzus. Evidently the latter has not fully made up his mind on the subject. While, in some passages of his works,²⁷² he teaches plainly the eternity of punishment, elsewhere he seems to vacillate. He abstains from coming to a decision, or dwells chiefly on the moral character of the chastisements of the reprobate.²⁷³ As to Gregory of Nyssa, he does not hesitate. True, there are here and there in his writings several passages where he speaks of eternal sufferings;²⁷⁴ but he teaches categorically a universal final restoration, which will include all men, nay, even the devils and their leader. This is simply Origen's theory. The purification of the wicked after death will be longer or shorter according to the nature of their crimes; but, at last, evil must be conquered and disappear. God must reign supreme in all, and all men must share in those goods which neither

²⁶⁹ *Ad Theodorum lapsum*, I, 9, 10; *In epist. ad Hebr.*, hom. I, 4; *Exposit. in psalm. XLIX*, 6.

²⁷⁰ *Expositio in psalm. XLIX*, 6; *Ad Theodor. laps.*, I, 9, 10; II, 3; *In epist. II ad Thessalon.*, hom. III, 1; *In epist. ad Philipp.*, hom. III, 4.

²⁷¹ *Regulae brev. tract.*, Interrog. 267.

²⁷² For instance, *Orat. XVI*, 7.

²⁷³ *Orat. XL*, 36; *XVI*, 9; *XXX*, 6; *XXXIX*, 19; *Poemata*, lib. II, sect. I, 1 (*P. G.*, XXXVII, 1010).

²⁷⁴ For instance, *De castigatione* (*P. G.*, XLVI, 312).

ear, nor eye, nor mind of man can reach and understand.²⁷⁵

As has been said before, the error of St. Gregory of Nyssa was not shared by most of the Greek Fathers of the 4th century. Two among them, however, are inclined to allow, not the cessation, but the mitigation of the punishment of the damned, through the charity and prayers of the faithful. St. Chrysostom teaches that, by alms-giving and prayer, we may procure some relief for the departed who have died without baptism or who have been condemned by God.²⁷⁶ Again, when speaking of the liturgical *memento* of the dead, St. Cyril of Jerusalem mentions the objection that it is useless to pray for those who have died in the state of sin (*μετὰ ἀμαρτημάτων*) and he answers that, just as, by presenting him with a crown, one may induce an angry king to remit the chastisement of exile inflicted on certain culprits, so we offer up to God, even for those among the departed who have been sinners, Christ immolated, and we endeavor to render the merciful God propitious to them and to us.²⁷⁷ Strictly speaking, the Holy Doctor may have reference to sins that were light or were already forgiven in some way or other, and therefore to purgatory; however, more probably he alludes to a certain mitigation of the punishment of the reprobate.

Eternal happiness and the possession of God will be the lot of the elect. Yet, on this last point, we must mention a peculiar view of St. John Chrysostom and of the Antiochian school. Influenced by the struggle against the Eunomians, and moreover, distrusting the theories according to which the soul is absorbed into God, St. Chrysostom holds,

²⁷⁵ *Orat. catechet.*, 26, 35; cf. 40; *De anima et resurrect.*, col. 72, 104, 105, 152, 157; cf. *De mortuis*, col. 524; *Contra Arium et Sabellium* (*P. G.*, XLV, 1292, 1293).

²⁷⁶ *In epist. ad Philipp.*, hom. III, 4; *In acta apostol.*, hom. XXI, 4.

²⁷⁷ *Catech.* XXIII, 10.

of course, that the elect behold God as much as is possible to them (ὡς αὐτοῖς δυνατόν); ²⁷⁸ but he does not admit that they see really the divine essence. Neither the prophets, he says, nor the angels and archangels have ever seen or see what God properly is: Αὐτὸ ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς οὐ μόνον προφῆται ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄγγελοι εἶδον οὔτε ἀρχάγγελοι. The Son and the Holy Ghost alone have seen Him and see Him, "for how can the whole created nature see the Uncreated?" ²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ *De beato Philogonio*, VI, 1.

²⁷⁹ *In Ioan.*, hom. XV, 1, 2; *In Isaiam*, cap. VI, 1.

CHAPTER VII

THE SYRIAC THEOLOGY DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY — APHRAATES AND ST. EPHREM

§ 1. Aphraates.¹

GREEK was not the only theological language used in the East during the 4th century. To the northeast of Antioch, and all along the Euphrates and Tigris, churches sprang up and flourished, whose national idiom, Syriac, was used not only for the translation of the Scriptures, but also for the production of original religious works. It is true that these did not always exhale the purest orthodoxy. While the dialogue *De Fato*, or rather "The Book of the Laws of the Countries,"² of Philip, a disciple of Bardesanes, expressly opposes astrological fatalism and determinism, Bardesanes himself (+ 222) is charged with upholding Gnostic doctrines in several writings that are no longer extant. At any rate, these doctrines are met with in the *Acts*

¹ We quote Aphraates after the edition R. GRAFFIN and J. PARISOT, *Patrologia Syriaca*, I, II, *Aphraatis sapientis persae demonstrationes*, Paris, 1894, 1897.— Works: J. FORGET, *De vita et scriptis Aphraatis*, Lovanii, 1882. F. C. BURKITT, *Early eastern Christianity*, London, 1904. J. LABOURT, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse*, Paris, 1904. R. H. CONNOLLY, *The early syriac Creed*, in *Zeitschr. f. die neutestam. Wissensch.*, Separatabdr., 1906. P. SCHWEN, *Afrahat, seine Person und sein Verständnis des Christentums*, Berlin, 1907. J.-M. CHAVANIS, *Les lettres d'Afrahat, le sage perse, étudiées au point de vue de l'histoire et de la doctrine*, Saint-Etienne, 1908.

² Edit. F. NAU in *Patr. syriaca*, II. [For an English translation, cf. W. CURETON, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1855.]

of *Judas-Thomas*, a work which originated most probably in Syria, and whose primitive text dates from about the middle of the 3d century.³ But, during the 4th century, orthodoxy was to be vindicated by means of the writings of two authors, the latter of whom especially has remained illustrious — Aphraates and St. Ephrem.

St. Ephrem is the better known of the two, and yet Aphraates may be the more important for us, because, as he is older than St. Ephrem — his twenty-three *letters* or *demonstrations* were written between the years 337 and 345 — and as he lived still further from Constantinople and Antioch,⁴ he was affected, in a lesser degree, by the influence of Greek Theology, and presents a more original and archaic form of doctrine. However, one should not take as the complete expression of his faith the sort of creed which he formulates in his 1st demonstration, n. 19, — a symbol in which God, creation, man made to God's image, the Holy Ghost sent to the prophets, Jesus Christ sent from God, the resurrection of the dead and baptism only are mentioned. Even though Aphraates' demonstrations are moral and ascetical rather than dogmatic, the symbol, or at least the faith, which they imply was more comprehensive, as may be judged from the following analysis.

In the first place, Aphraates protests that he intends to speak, not according to his own lights, but according to the mind of the whole Church (XXII, 26), and the teaching of the Scriptures (V, 8; XIV, 47; XXII, 26) which he declares are inspired; for it is Jesus and the Holy Spirit who

³ The Syriac text has been edited by W. WRIGHT, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871; a supplement has been given by F. C. BURKITT, *Studia sinaitica*, n. IX, London, 1900. The Greek text may be found in BONNET, *Supplementum codicis apocryphi, I, Acta Thomae*, Leipsic, 1883.

⁴ According to a comparatively recent MS., he lived in the convent of Mar Mattai, to the northwest of Mossul.

speak through the sacred writers (IV, 10; VII, 10; VIII, 3, 25).

He acknowledges in God three terms, three persons (VI, 12; XXIII, 60, 61, 63). Jesus Christ is God and Son of God (VI, 9, 10). The XVIIth demonstration is wholly devoted to the proof of this point, and although in almost all that demonstration Aphraates does not go beyond an argument *ad hominem* against the Jews and the heathen, proving to them that these titles "God" and "Son of God" were given formerly to Moses (3), Solomon and the people of Israel (4), it remains true, nevertheless, that he ascribes to Jesus more than a mere moral sonship and divinity: "*Pro certo tenemus Iesum, Dominum nostrum esse Deum filium Dei*,⁵ *regem filium regis, lumen de lumine (nuhrā men nuhrā), creatorem, consiliarium, ducem. . . . Ceteris autem omissis, demonstramus illum esse Filium Dei ipsumque Deum qui a Deo prodixit*" (2). Again, in the XXIIIrd demonstration, n. 52, he says in a more metaphysical way: "*Confitemur in te (Christe) misericordiam quae misit te, ei in nobis acquievit, ut per mortem unigeniti sui (yihidāyeh) viveremus. In te laudamus [Deum] increatum, qui te, ex sua essentia separatum (dnephuk men 'ithutheh) ad nos misit.*"⁶ As to the Holy Spirit, He is the spirit of holiness, glorified together with the Father and the Son, who has manifested Himself in both Testaments and dwells in us (XXIII, 60, 61; VI, 14 *et seq.*). He is near the Eternal Father, as our mother⁷ (XVIII, 10), and it is from Him that we receive grace (XIV, 47).

⁵ *ʾAlāhā bar ʾalāhā*. Dom Connolly (*art. cit.*, p. 211) remarks that this expression ought to be translated rather *Deum de Deo*: this is the *θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ* of the Council of Nicæa. In fact it has been thus translated by the Greek Acts of Judas-Thomas.

⁶ See below what is said of the Incarnation.

⁷ The reader may recall that the word *ruhā* (Spirit) is feminine in Syriac and in almost all Semitic languages.

Aphraates merely touches upon the subject of the original fall, which he says is the origin of death (XXII, 1; VII, 1; IX, 14); but he speaks of the Incarnation more at length. Jesus appeared in order to free us from sin and He took from the Virgin a human body (XXI, 9; XXIII, 50, 51). His humanity is plainly distinguished from His divinity (XVII, 2). In coming to us, Jesus Christ has received something that was foreign to Him, something that was "outside His nature," namely, our nature, and in reascending to His Father, He has carried it with Himself (VI, 10, and cf. the contrast of VI, 9). However, the unity of His person is implied (VI, 9, 10; XXIII, 49). He alone is sinless and has not received the Holy Ghost *in mensura* (VI, 12; VII, 1).

As regards the redemption, the doctrine of Aphraates presents the ideas which were current at the time. Jesus Christ is our mediator; He has taken upon Himself our sins and has paid the penalty due to them; He has been our victim: "*Cum peccatores essemus, peccatum omnium nostrum ipse (Christus) portavit, factusque est nuntius reconciliationis inter Deum et creaturam eius. . . . Cum enim mali destructor existeret, poenam ipse reddendam sibi suscepit*" (XIV, 11). "*Oblatus est hostia viva propter nos*" (II, 6). But, when Jesus assumed our nature, His purpose was that, through becoming humility, we might have a share in His own humility (VI, 10).

We correspond to the redemption by means of faith, charity and hope which justify us; then, we become perfect and obtain our crown (I, 3). Good works are necessary for salvation (I, 3; III, 8; IV, 14). The virtues of virginity and continence are especially recommended, although marriage is not absolutely forbidden (VI, 3-7, 19).

The Church is ruled by pastors. Of these pastors Aphraates speaks all through the Xth demonstration.

Peter was the first of the disciples, the foundation of the Church, the faithful witness (VII, 15; XI, 12; cf. XXI, 10; XXIII, 12). Baptism, which was instituted by Jesus Christ when He washed His Apostles' feet (XII, 10), is given in the name of the three divine Persons (XXIII, 63). It is a regeneration, which forgives sins and confers the Holy Ghost (IV, 19; VI, 14; XI, 11). The Eucharist is the body and blood of Jesus Christ (III, 2; IV, 19; XII, 6 and foll.), a sacrament (or mystery) which one receives after baptism (XI, 12; XII, 9; IV, 19) and which one must receive with a pure conscience (XII, 9; III, 2). The Eucharist is also a sacrifice (XII, 9; cf. XVI, 3).

Aphraates treats of penance in the VIIth demonstration. On one hand, addressing sinners, he urges them to set aside false shame, to confess their faults and ask penance of the physicians of souls (3, 8, 12). This confession is exceedingly useful (9, 14, 15, 16); it is even necessary that one may be healed (5), but only after he has conceived a deep sorrow for his faults (2), and has determined to weep over them all his life (23). On the other hand, Aphraates advises the *physicians* to keep secret the declarations made to them, lest the whole community and the innocent should be dishonored, were the faults of the guilty made known to the enemies of Christians.⁸ Then he advises them never to refuse penance or to repel penitents: "*Non debetis medicinam iis denegare quibus curatione opus est*" (4): such refusals are an abuse that must not be tolerated (25). The author makes no distinction whatever; all must be forgiven (23). Evidently he includes in this word even fornicators

⁸ VII, 4: "Vos igitur medici. . . quicumque vobis suum vulnus detexerit, ei remedium imponite paenitentiae; eum autem qui infirmitatem suam manifestare erubuerit, ne hanc a vobis abscondat adhortamini; cumque ipsam vobis revelaverit, nolite eam publicare, ne propter illum ab inimicis et ab iis qui nos oderunt innocentes in culpa esse iudicentur."

and those who may have been guilty of sacrilege (25). Now, what are, properly speaking, the penitents and physicians here spoken of, and does Aphraates allude only to the monastic *culpa*? It is certain that his exhortations are in fact especially for those who have vowed themselves to chastity and to the religious cenobitical life⁹ (25), but it is also certain that he has in view grave faults that incur death everlasting (25). Besides, these physicians who must heal sinners "detain the keys of the gates of heaven and open these gates to penitents" (11). One can hardly help seeing in these words an allusion to *Matt.* XVI, 19, and concluding that these physicians are not ordinary monks. They are confessors invested with a special power, the power of the keys by whose virtue they perform their functions. This institution brings us very close to the common discipline of confession.¹⁰

The laying on of hands is mentioned in connection with order (XIV, 25): the three hierarchical orders are the episcopate, the presbyterate and the diaconate (XIV, 1). Of the oil we are told that it contains the sign "of the mystery of life, which makes Christians, priests, kings, prophets; it enlightens darkness, anoints the sick, and through its hidden meaning, reconciles penitents" (XXIII, 3): an allusion to the unction of baptism and perhaps also to that of confirmation, as well as to that of the sick (extreme unction?) and to the rite for the reconciliation of penitent [heretics] (confirmation also).

Of all the various parts of Aphraates' theology the most archaic is unquestionably his eschatology. He regards the Christian as made up of three elements: body, soul and the Holy Ghost whom he has received in baptism (VI, 14). The soul is immortal (*ibid.*); but, when the body is buried,

⁹ The word *hermits* (*yihidāyē*) may certainly designate cenobites.

¹⁰ The XIVth demonstration, n. 44, mentions excommunication.

the soul is also buried with it and ceases to be conscious. Its powers fall asleep, as it were, and become torpid (VI, 14; VIII, 19, 20). As to the Spirit, should it happen that the body has grieved Him by misdeeds, even before death He departs from it and becomes its accuser before Christ. Should the contrary happen, He abandons it only at the moment of death, and, on reascending to Christ whose Spirit He is, He entreats the Savior to raise again that body and to reunite it unto Him — the Spirit (VI, 14).

Meanwhile the departed are asleep in their graves; but, although there they neither distinguish good from evil, nor perceive, at least distinctly, the just, their reward, and the wicked, the punishment which is in store for them (VIII, 20), yet they experience therein presentiments, as it were, and dreams that render their slumber pleasant to the just and painful for sinners (VIII, 19). At last, after 6000 years have elapsed since its creation, the world comes to the end of its duration (II, 14); the dead rise again, not in a different and heavenly body, but in the body itself which has been buried (VIII, 1-4; XXII, 15). The Holy Ghost stands at the entrance of the graves of the just, and as soon as the trumpet sounds, He unites with their transfigured bodies, absorbs their souls and thus makes them altogether spiritual. In this state, the elect go to meet Christ (VI, 14; VIII, 4, 5, 23). The wicked also rise again; but their bodies remain earthly and the Holy Ghost does not unite with them (VIII, 4, 5, 23).

Then the judgment follows. At times, Aphraates seems to suppose that all men will be judged (VIII, 20; XXII, 15); again, he declares explicitly that neither the just, nor those wicked men whose crimes are notorious — idolaters, for instance — will be judged (XXII, 15-17), hence ordinary sinners only will be judged (*ibid.*), and only then will God award definitely to every one what he deserves (VIII,

22). Immediately after the resurrection, the wicked and idolaters will go back into hell — hence they were there already — (XXII, 17); the sinners condemned in the final judgment will also be punished, and their sentence will be irrevocable (XXII, 18; VIII, 19, 20; VI, 18). However, their sufferings will be in proportion to their faults, and while one is condemned to the exterior darkness, another will be condemned to fire, and a third to the punishment of the worm that never dies (XXII, 22, 23). As to the just, they will be likewise rewarded according to their merits. Aphraates delights in giving a beautiful description of paradise, which will become their abode (XXII, 12, 13, 19–21; cf. XIV, 22). The condition of the reprobate as well as that of the elect, and consequently the punishment of the former and the reward of the latter, will be eternal: “*Neque impii resipiscent regnumque ingredientur; neque iusti peccabunt amplius ut ad cruciatum abeant*” (XX, 12).

We need not point out at length the meagerness of this theology as compared with the theology of those Greek and Latin Fathers who were Aphraates' contemporaries,—Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem and Hilary. Living, as he did, far removed from the scene of controversies, the *Persian sage*, as he has been called, strove chiefly to live his faith and to urge those about him to do likewise. As regards speculation, he merely coördinated, as best he could, the teachings of Holy Writ and illustrated them by means of a few explanations which he had inherited from a very conservative tradition.

§ 2. St. Ephrem.¹¹

With St. Ephrem (+ 373) who, according to a legend

¹¹ All the dogmatic works of St. Ephrem, except a few writings, are contained in four principal collections: (1) *S. Patris nostri Ephraem syri opera omnia quae exstant graece, syriace et latine recens.* P. BENEDICTUS, Ios. et St. EVOD. ASSEMANUS, Romae, 1737–1746. The

which is apparently true, had relations with St. Basil, we come nearer to the Greek world; not indeed that the Syrian monk had ever its mentality, but, during the last years of his life, and especially during those he spent at Edessa (363–373), he naturally became better informed as to the disputes which were going on and the decisions which were taken in the Greek-speaking churches. Moreover, the orthodox Syrian Church has rightly looked upon him as the greatest of her doctors. In every respect he is her representative. His genius, which is more poetical than theological, excels far more in elegance and fecundity than in depth and accuracy of thought. Thus he possesses all the good qualities as well as all the defects of his race. He adorns with flowers even subjects of controversy, whereas he hardly thinks of delving into the problems raised by his Gnostic or Manichean opponents. As we shall see, the faith of the Church was quite enough for him.

In fact, St. Ephrem is essentially a theologian who intends to be orthodox; nay, his orthodoxy must be absolutely ecclesiastical. The Church teaches the whole truth, fights error and defends against heretics the truth of the Scriptures.¹² Hence it is from her lips that we must learn the doctrine of faith. On the other hand, this faith is con-

Syriac writings take up the first three volumes, I–III; the Greek writings, the three other volumes, designated likewise I–III. (2) J. OVERBECK, *S. Ephraemi syri, Rabulae, Balaei aliorumque opera selecta*, Oxford, 1865. (3) G. BICKELL, *S. Ephraem syri Carmina nisibena*, Leipzig, 1866. (4) J. LAMY, *S. Ephraem syri Hymni et sermones*, 3 vols., Mechliniae, 1882–1889. I quote here these various collections, simply by reference to volume and page; even for the Roman collection, the title will be omitted, the designation of the volume indicating that the Syro-Latin part is meant.—Works: C. EIRAINER, *Der hl. Ephraem der Syrer, eine dogmengeschichtliche Abhandlung*, Kempten, 1889. F. C. BURKITT, *Early Eastern Christianity*, London, 1904. J. LAMY, *Saint Ephrem*, in the *Université catholique*, 1890, vols. III and IV.

¹² II, 442 B E; 560 B.

tained in the sacred books,¹³ and to study and explain them is the business of theologians. But all religious truth comes from these two sources, Scripture and the Church. St. Ephrem thinks that it is useless, even dangerous, to seek outside these sources: "There is in the Church search after what has been revealed; there is no search after what is concealed."¹⁴ Inquiries are fruitless and give no repose.¹⁵ "He who believes, seeks not; and he who seeks, believes not."¹⁶ Such words as these show of course how little store St. Ephrem set by philosophy and philosophers. As to his exegesis, it is more literal than we might expect from a poet, and holds a middle course between the method of Antioch and that of Alexandria.

The Holy Doctor speaks quite plainly of the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity, of their unity of substance, their equality and circumincession. The reader may recall that Ephrem's first bishop, James of Nisibis, was present at the Council of Nicæa: "That the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are one (*unum*), believe and confess; that they are three, hesitate not to accept."¹⁷ But how the divine Being can be in three subjects and yet not be divided, we cannot say, since this Being is known to us only through analogy.¹⁸ However, in order to give some idea of the doctrine, St. Ephrem uses the comparison of the sun, whose brightness, light and heat compenetrates one another while remaining distinct from one another.¹⁹ On the other hand, his *Testament* — which Professor R. Duval does not deem authentic — contains this protestation: "If in my thought I have magnified the Father above the Son, let Him have no mercy on me! and if I have accounted the Holy Spirit less than God, let mine eyes be darkened!"²⁰

¹³ III, 132, B.

¹⁴ III, 18, C.

¹⁵ OVERBECK, p. 30.

¹⁶ III, 184 C.

¹⁷ III, 194 E; I, 166 D.

¹⁸ III, 74 B.

¹⁹ III, 71 D and foll.; 75 F; 137 A and foll.

²⁰ *Opp. graeco-lat.*, II, 396 F.

The Son is the fruit of the Father, distinct from Him, but one with Him in will, similar to Him in essence, nature and power.²¹ The Holy Spirit comes from the Father and from the Son. He has with them but one will and one power.²²

This divine Trinity created the world, and man in particular. Man is a microcosm, combining within himself the properties of the visible and material world, and those of the spiritual world.²³ To the body and to the soul, as elements of man, Ephrem adds at times the Spirit;²⁴ but he means to designate the Christian Spirit. He is really a dichotomist. When speaking of the formation of the first woman, he seems to hold some sort of traducianism, as though the soul of Eve preëxisted in Adam;²⁵ in other passages, however, he rejects formally this theory²⁶ and adopts creationism. God's image and likeness in man consist (*a*) in the freedom of man and in his dominion over the other created beings; (*b*) in man's disposition and fitness to receive the gifts of God; (*c*) in the facility with which the human mind can conceive everything and apply itself to everything.²⁷

St. Ephrem takes from Genesis his description of the state in which our first parents were created. They were immortal, exempt from pain and sickness,²⁸ filled with wisdom and knowledge,²⁹ capable, however, of feeling the suggestions of concupiscence — since, according to the Holy Doctor, the temptation by the serpent was only the occasion

²¹ III, 180 F; *Univers. cathol.*, IV, 187.

²² *Hymni et sermones*, II, 179, 151, 354, note; *Univers. cathol.*, IV, 185.

²³ OVERBECK, p. 76.

²⁴ III, 34 B; *Hymn. et serm.*, II, 699.

²⁵ I, 18 F.

²⁶ I, 129 C.

²⁷ I, 128 D.

²⁸ I, 28 C; cf. 128 E; III, 595 E.

²⁹ I, 25 A; 129 D.

of their fall, not its true cause; ³⁰ finally, they were encompassed, as it were, with a supernatural light which concealed from them their nakedness, ³¹ and which St. Ephrem seems to look upon as an external reflection of their inner grace, for he says that baptism restores to us this brightness. ³²

These gifts were lost through the disobedience of Adam and Eve; and a twofold death resulted from their sin,—the death of the soul, which took place immediately, and the death of the body, which was postponed. ³³ This fall has had its echo in us, for on its account we have been condemned to suffer and to die. ³⁴ St. Ephrem does not say, however, that the sin of Adam itself has been transmitted to us. On the other hand, he proclaims emphatically against the Manicheans, Gnostics and astrologers, that, even after the fall, we continue to be free; still he does not ignore the necessity of God's help for salvation. Our freewill is sick, and God alone can cure it. If grace does not open our ears, they remain deaf to the divine exhortations. ³⁵ We need light, health and strength. We must beg them of God. ³⁶ However, this grace does not constrain us; it only helps us; our whole freedom remains. ³⁷

It is, then, in order to deliver and heal us that the Son of God has become incarnate. Against Marcion and Bardesanes St. Ephrem proves the reality of Christ's body; ³⁸ against the Arians he affirms the existence of a human soul

³⁰ I, 27 F; 30 F; *Evangelii concordantis expositio* (edit. AUCHER-MOESINGER, Venetiis, 1876), p. 220.

³¹ I, 26 F; 27 D.

³² *Hymni et serm.*, I, 107; cf. *Opera syriaca*, III, 312 B.

³³ I, 137 D.

³⁴ I, 37 E; II, 481 A.

³⁵ II, 461 E; III, 553 C, D.

³⁶ III, 553 B; II, 461 E; 338 E.

³⁷ *Hymni et serm.*, I, 101.

³⁸ II, 522 B; III, 58 D.

in Him.³⁹ Mary is truly the mother of Jesus, the mother of God (*yāldath*, *'alāhā*),⁴⁰ a virgin *ante partum in partu*, and *post partum*;⁴¹ he delights in extolling her office,⁴² and in praising her perfect sanctity, which he compares to that of Jesus: "Thou alone and Thy Mother are absolutely pure in every way; for in Thee there is no spot, and in Thy Mother there is no stain."⁴³ Jesus, then, was a true man. He was also God: "He was One of the Godhead which is above and of mankind which is from the earth."⁴⁴ He was one without any division, one in person (*bqnumā*), one from God and one from Mary, one in humanity and in divinity, without separation, one who performed both what was of God and what was of man.⁴⁵ To express this union, St. Ephrem uses at times the word *to mix* (*hlat mzagh*),⁴⁶ which, of course, must not be interpreted too strictly. As is to be expected, his terminology is hardly accurate; as it stands, it has rather a tinge of Monophysitism.

The soteriological ideas of the Syrian Doctor are very vague. Instead of enlarging upon the act of redemption, he prefers to describe poetically the descent of Jesus into hell and to point out how He snatched from Satan and from death their prey,—Adam and the human race.⁴⁷

His ecclesiology, on the contrary, is well developed and stated with vigor and definiteness. It is always with enthusiasm that St. Ephrem speaks of the Church. She is for him the spouse of Christ, the house of God;⁴⁸ she is

³⁹ I, 549 A.

⁴⁰ III, 481 A; 487 F; I, 188 F.

⁴¹ I, 189 A; II, 328 D; 423; 420 F; III, 5 F; 137 F.

⁴² II, 329 E.

⁴³ *Carmina nisibena*, XXVII, 8.

⁴⁴ I, 177 C.

⁴⁵ *Hymni et sermones*, I, 475, 353.

⁴⁶ II, 419 C; *Carmina nisibena*, XXXV.

⁴⁷ *Hymni et sermones*, I, 511, 513, 547; cf. 153.

⁴⁸ II, 295 A; III, 498 A.

catholic and cannot decay;⁴⁹ she dispenses truth and grace.⁵⁰ Jesus Christ has given her the power to bind and to loose in heaven and upon earth. Whoever despises her is lost; he who takes shelter in her possesses life.⁵¹ In this Church there exists a hierarchy made up of bishops, priests and deacons.⁵² These rulers of the Church are the successors of the Apostles. They have received the gift of the Holy Ghost.⁵³ St. Peter is the first among them. His primacy St. Ephrem proclaims in the following words: Peter is the foundation of the Church, the source of the Savior's doctrine, the leader of the disciples, the heir of Christ's treasures,⁵⁴ or, again, the leader of the Apostles, the keeper of the flock, to whom the keys are entrusted.⁵⁵ He is the source of the priesthood, from whom priests receive their sanctifying power.⁵⁶

This sanctifying power is exercised chiefly through the conferring of the sacraments. St. Ephrem has no distinct ideas on sacraments in general; but he speaks of several sacraments in particular.

It is in His own baptism that Jesus instituted Christian baptism: then it was that He sanctified the waters; He mixed with these waters His grace, the divine ferment which was no other than Himself; nay, He bought them with His blood.⁵⁷ The waters thus sanctified are poured upon the one who is baptized, while the three divine Persons are invoked. It would not suffice to invoke only one of

⁴⁹ I, 294 C; *Hymni et sermones*, I, 255.

⁵⁰ II, 442 B E; 560 B; III, 578 A-C; *Hymni et sermones*, I, 355.

⁵¹ III, 578 A; *Hymni et sermones*, I, 537.

⁵² *Carmina nisibena*, XXI, 5.

⁵³ II, 366 A.

⁵⁴ *Hymni et sermones*, I, 411, 533; cf. *Université catholique*, IV, 171, 172.

⁵⁵ II, 559 E.

⁵⁶ *Hymni et sermones*, I, 73, 267.

⁵⁷ *Hymni et sermones*, I, 97, 45, 67, 75.

these divine Persons; this is why the baptism given by those who deny the Trinity is null.⁵⁸ Baptism has for its effects the blotting out of sins, the restoration of the interior and spiritual light and grace lost through Adam's fault, and the making of Christians members of Christ and of the Church.⁵⁹ This last effect of baptism remains for ever. Christians are marked with the seal of Christ.⁶⁰ Furthermore, St. Ephrem mentions, among the ceremonies of baptism, two unctions with oil: one, before the immersion, and the other, after. He calls the latter the *perfection* or *consummation* of Christ (*shumlāyā*); he compares it to the Eucharist, and says that it has for its effect the strengthening of the neophyte and arming him against the enemies of salvation. Finally, he adds that the matter of this unction is chrism (*murun*). No doubt this refers to confirmation.⁶¹

The Holy Doctor speaks often of the Eucharist and, although he says that "for those who eat it without faith, it is but ordinary bread," although, too, he requires faith on the part of the communicant in order that the Eucharist may have its value and produce its effects, nevertheless, he affirms most emphatically both the real presence and the fact that, through the consecration, the bread and wine become the body and blood of Jesus Christ. The most important passage on this topic is found in the *Hymni et sermones* (I, 413).⁶²

Jesus our Lord took in His hands some bread — at the beginning it was bread only — He blessed it, made over it the

⁵⁸ III, 28 F; 75 B.

⁵⁹ II, 440 B; III, 312 B; *Hymni et sermones*, I, 61, 73, 75, 89.

⁶⁰ III, 34 A; *Hymni et sermones*, I, 29.

⁶¹ *Hymni et sermones*, I, 28, note, 29, 51, 53; *Opera syriaca*, III, 12 D; II, 252 D.

⁶² Cf. Professor Lamy's French translation in the *Université catholique*, IV, 173.

sign of the cross, consecrated it in the name of the Father and of the Holy Ghost, broke it and distributed it, fragment after fragment, to His disciples. In His merciful bounty, He called the bread His living body and filled it with Himself and with the Holy Ghost. Stretching His hand, He gave to His disciples the bread which His right hand had consecrated: Take ye, He said, eat, ye all, a part of what my word has consecrated. Do not think that what I have just given you is bread; receive it, eat it, do not break it into crumbs. What I have called my body is truly so. The least of its fragments can sanctify thousands of souls, and suffices to give life to those who receive it. Receive, eat it with faith, waver not, for this is my body, and whoever eats it with faith, eats together with it the fire of the divine Spirit. For him who eats without faith, it is but ordinary bread; but he who eats with faith the bread consecrated in my name, if he is pure, he preserves his purity; and if he is a sinner, he obtains his forgiveness. Let him who rejects, despises and insults it, know for certain that he insults the Son who has called and truly made the bread His body. . . . Take and eat, ye all. By means of this bread, you eat my body, the true source of forgiveness. . . . After the disciples had eaten the new and holy bread, and understood through faith that they had eaten Christ's body, Jesus continued to explain and unfold the whole Sacrament. He took the chalice of wine and mixed it, then He blessed it, traced the sign of the cross over it, consecrated it and declared that this was His blood which was about to be shed. . . . In giving to them (His disciples) the chalice to drink, Christ explained to them that the chalice they were drinking was His blood: This is my real blood which is shed for you all, take and drink, ye all, this is the new covenant in my blood. You shall do in memory of me what you have seen me do. When you gather together in the Church all the world over in my name, do in remembrance of me what I have done; eat my body and drink my blood, a new and ancient covenant.

The general impression which we obtain from these words, especially after we divest them of their intensely

poetical form, is that evidently St. Ephrem is a determined realist. This conclusion can be drawn also from a singular opinion of the Saint — an opinion which we find more than once in his writings. In the same passage, of which a part is given above, he claims that, before giving to Judas the consecrated bread, Jesus dipped that bread into the water, “and in this way washed away and removed the blessing.”⁶³ The Eucharist, then, is the body of Christ, not for the faith of the Christian only, but objectively and in reality.

From the same passage we learn also what the effects of a good Communion are, according to the Holy Doctor. These he mentions also elsewhere. Holy Communion unites us to Christ, justifies us interiorly and preserves purity in us; it guards us against concupiscence and paves the way for eternal life;⁶⁴ it is a viaticum for the moment of death.⁶⁵

St. Ephrem’s testimony in regard to penance is by no means so complete as that which he gives concerning the Eucharist. True, he speaks of a declaration, of a disclosure of one’s sins and difficulties of conscience, which one must make in order to know and correct oneself;⁶⁶ but from this we cannot conclude that sacramental confession is referred to, especially when we observe that the author is addressing monks. On the other hand, he acknowledges formally that the Church has power to remit sins, even outside baptism — a power which can be exercised only when the penitent is sorry for his misdeeds.⁶⁷

Order and marriage are mentioned only in passing; extreme unction is perhaps alluded to in vol. II, 541 B.

⁶³ See also *Hymni et sermones*, I, 603, 623; *Evangelii concord. expositio*, p. 222. The same view is met with in the works of James of Sarug.

⁶⁴ I, 461 B; III, 297 F; 457 B; 480 E; *Hymni et sermones*, I, 417, 707.

⁶⁵ III, 657 B; cf. 545 C.

⁶⁶ III, 657 B; ZINGERLE, *Sermones duo*, p. 35.

⁶⁷ II, 440 B.

Moreover, one notes in the Holy Doctor's writings — most of which are either popular or ascetical — a great many details concerning the beliefs, discipline and piety of the Christians of his epoch and surroundings, such as the sanctification of Sunday,⁶⁸ the sign of the cross,⁶⁹ fasting and abstinence.⁷⁰ Chastity is highly extolled.⁷¹ We read also that the guardian angels strengthen and help us in our spiritual struggles;⁷² that nations have their holy patrons;⁷³ that we must keep feast-days in honor of the martyrs;⁷⁴ that it is profitable to invoke the saints in order that they may pray for us;⁷⁵ that we must honor especially Mary and St. Joseph,⁷⁶ and venerate relics as sacred remains whose efficacy is very great;⁷⁷ finally, that it is meet and profitable to pray for the dead and especially to offer for them the Holy Sacrifice.⁷⁸

If we take up now the eschatological teaching of the Syrian monk, we are struck with what seems to be a contradiction on the subject of the condition of the souls of the just immediately after death. On one hand, St. Ephrem teaches that these souls enter directly into life, joy, paradise, heaven;⁷⁹ on the other, he declares just as plainly that, being deprived of their bodies, these souls cannot exercise their faculties, they cannot see, hear and speak; hence he

⁶⁸ III C, 499; *Hymni et sermones*, I, 541.

⁶⁹ *Hymni et sermones*, I, 301.

⁷⁰ II, 338 B; III, 254 F.

⁷¹ III, 227, 228; II, 300 B C; *Hymni et sermones*, II, 777, 783.

⁷² III, 474 B.

⁷³ III, 563 E.

⁷⁴ *Carmina nisibena*, VI, 30.

⁷⁵ III, 227 B; 236 B; 486 C D.

⁷⁶ III, 481 A; 487 F; 600 C.

⁷⁷ II, 349 F; 350, III, 250 F; *Carmina nisibena*, XIII, 18-21.

⁷⁸ III, 314 F; 337 C; *Carmina nisibena*, LXXIV, 23; *Opera graecolatina*, II, 401 C.

⁷⁹ III, 251 F; 255 C; 225 E; *Hymni et sermones*, I, 669; *Carmina nisibena*, LXXIII, 1.

concludes that, until the resurrection of their bodies, the happiness of these souls is very incomplete and that, as yet, they do not dwell in the place of perfect felicity.⁸⁰ The explanation of this apparent contradiction is to be found probably in the fact that the Holy Doctor divides paradise into three parts: the summit, the sides and the border.⁸¹ The border of paradise, he declares, is for those penitents who have been forgiven;⁸² but probably he makes it also the abode of the souls of the just until the resurrection of their bodies, when they shall ascend to the summit of the blessed abode.⁸³

Several texts would indicate that St. Ephrem had some idea of the existence of purgatory or some state intermediate between heaven and hell.⁸⁴ At any rate, he proved at length against Bardesanes the possibility of the resurrection of the body, its fitness, justness and reality.⁸⁵ This resurrection will be followed by the judgment. The Saint divides men into three categories, as regards this judgment: those who are above it (*supra iudicium*), the just made perfect; those who are judged (*sub iudicio*), the just still imperfect, and the penitents; finally, those who are outside the judgment (*extra iudicium*), all the wicked.⁸⁶ After the judgment is pronounced, all men — just and sinners — pass over the fire that gushes forth from the depth of hell. While this fire does no harm to the just, it seizes and holds the reprobate.⁸⁷ The former are assigned places in heaven

⁸⁰ III, 587 B-F.

⁸¹ *Carmina nisibena*, prolegom., p. 25.

⁸² III, 568 A.

⁸³ III, 588 B.

⁸⁴ III, 565 E; 595 C.

⁸⁵ I, 22 B C; III, 587 B; *Carmina nisibena*, XLIII, 17; XLIV; XLV; XLVII, 4; LXXII.

⁸⁶ I, 255 B C.

⁸⁷ III, 299 B; cf. *Hymni et sermones*, II, 421.

according to their merits,⁸⁸ and their bodies become pure, subtle and agile.⁸⁹ The reprobate, on the contrary, are punished^d in proportion to their sins.⁹⁰ Will this punishment be everlasting? Two passages⁹¹ of St. Ephrem's writings seem to betoken some uncertainty on his part regarding this question: but, if we look at them more closely, we notice that in them he is merely posing an impossible hypothesis. Elsewhere he teaches plainly that the punishment, as well as the reward, will be eternal.⁹²

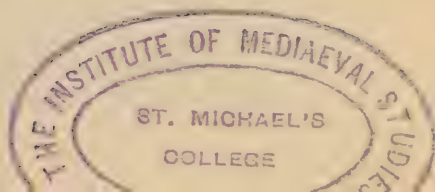
⁸⁸ I, 463 C; III, 567 F; *Hymni et sermones*, II, 423.

⁸⁹ III, 575 C D.

⁹⁰ III, 243 C; 637, 638; *Hymni et sermones*, II, 423.

⁹¹ III, 205 A; *Carmina nisibena*, LIX, 8.

⁹² III, 243 E; cf. *Hymni et sermones*, II, 423.



CHAPTER VIII

LATIN HERESIES DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY

§ 1. Donatism.¹

No heresy comparable to the heresy which disturbed the Greek Church during the 4th century, sprang up at that time to disturb the Latin Church. No doubt, the latter was involved in the Arian controversies, and some of her bishops even wavered in their adhesion to the Nicene faith. Most of them, however, remained true to that faith, and the work of pacification which was to be accomplished by the decisions of the Council of Constantinople, was effected

¹ Sources: (1) First of all, the remains of the Donatist literature, *i. e.*, practically the many Donatist quotations contained in the works of St. Optatus and St. Augustine. (2) The records of the conference held at Carthage in the year 411 between Catholics and Donatists: *Gesta collationis carthaginensis* (*P. L.*, XI, col. 1231 et seq.). (3) The refutations of Donatism, composed by St. Optatus, *De schismate Donatistarum* (*P. L.*, XI) and St. Augustine (all to be found in *P. L.*, XLIII. We leave aside the *De unitate ecclesiae*, whose authenticity is doubtful, and the *Sermo de Rusticiano subdiacono*, which is a forged document). (4) The official accounts, acts of the martyrs, letters, laws and various documents which refer to the schism: many are mentioned in A. HARNACK, *Geschichte der altchristlich. Litterat.*, I, 744 and a great number have been printed in *P. L.*, VIII and XI.—Works: VÖLTER, *Der Ursprung des Donatismus*, Leipzig, 1882. L. DUCHESNE, *Le dossier du Donatisme*, reprinted from the *Mélanges d'Archéol. et d'Hist. de l'Ecole française de Rome*, vol. X, Paris, 1890. D. H. LEClercQ, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, I, Paris, 1904. P. MONCEAUX, *Hist. littér. de l'Afrique chrétienne*, III, Paris, 1905. L. SALTET, *Les réordinations*, Paris, 1907, p. 59 and foll.

quite rapidly in the West, notwithstanding the delays caused by the intolerance of the Luciferians.

But, while it is true that the Latin Church suffered but little from the Arian heresy, it is true also that she witnessed within her during the 4th century several separations and errors which are of the greatest importance for the history of theology and dogma. These separations and errors we shall now describe.

The first is the Donatist schism. In Africa it came as the result of Diocletian's persecution, just as Novatianism had come, in Africa also, as the result of Decius' persecution.

It is not within our province to relate its well-known origin and the various details of its history. We shall merely recall that, against the archdeacon Cæcilian, elected in the year 311 to succeed his bishop, Mensurius of Carthage, and immediately consecrated by Felix, bishop of Aptunga, a strong party had arisen, as a sequel of feminine intrigues and of dissatisfactions skilfully manipulated. This party, which had Donatus, bishop of Casa Nigra, and Secundus, bishop of Tigisis, for its leaders, was so powerful that it was able, in the year 312, to gather together at Carthage a council of seventy bishops of Numidia, for the purpose of judging Cæcilian. One of the charges made against him was that he had allowed himself to be ordained by Felix of Aptunga, who, having been a *traditor* during the persecution — *i. e.*, having surrendered the sacred books to the pagans — had by this very fact forfeited the episcopate and lost the power of validly ordaining Cæcilian. The charge was untrue, as was proved later on. At any rate, Cæcilian refused to appear before the pseudo-council that had summoned him. He was deposed and Majorinus was chosen in his stead. The new Bishop held his see only for three years. In the year 315, Donatus the Great, a bold

and skilful man, succeeded him as schismatic bishop of Carthage. It is probably from him, and not from the Bishop of Casa Nigra, that Donatism took its name.

The schism had now become an accomplished fact. What reasons were given to justify it, and what motives had been brought forward to set aside Cæcilian? As we have seen, he was charged with having received in vain the imposition of hands from Felix, the latter being a *traditor*. Under this reproach there is concealed an entire theory of the validity of the sacraments, a theory which we must clear up and expound, before we proceed any farther. The Donatists were never great theologians, and their history, when followed closely, shows that they often varied in the application of their principles.² At the beginning, these principles themselves were for them neither clear nor complete, and, no doubt, they arrived only gradually at the system which I am about to set forth. But they were carried forward both by logic and by events, and the moment came when they were obliged to accept even the theological consequences of their affirmations and of their acts.³

Their whole teaching, in its full development, rests on these two assertions: (1) Public and notorious sinners, and especially prevaricating bishops and priests, do not belong to the Church. (2) Outside the true Church, sacraments cannot be administered validly.

To justify the first principle, they declared that the visible Church must be holy and spotless, and that she would be defiled by the presence within her of members who are manifestly perverse and corrupt: *Ostendimus ecclesiam Domini*

² In reality their opposition was a national movement of the African populations against the Empire, even more than a revolt in the domain of faith. D. LECLERCQ, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, vol. I, p. 345 and foll.

³ It is after the controversy with St. Optatus—*i. e.*, after the year 370—that the Donatists seem to have in practice pushed their principles to their utmost limits.

*in scripturis divinis sanctam et immaculatam fore ubique nuntiatam. . . . Sequuntur enim apertissime blasphemantes (catholici) ut dicant Ecclesiam malorum delictis etiam manifestorum non posse maculari. . . . Non modo moribus sed etiam corpore a malis debere (christianos) disiungi multis admodum testimoniis legalibus approbamus.*⁴ This applies especially to those bishops, priests and deacons who are *traditores* and notoriously unworthy. After their crimes, they can be no longer the members of the Church; they have forfeited their place in the hierarchy.

Again, they have lost not only their official rank, but also the use of the power of order; they have become incapable of administering the sacraments. *His ergo criminibus septus, esse verus episcopus non potes;*⁵ and elsewhere: *Recedens ab Ecclesia baptismum quidem non amittit, ius dandi tamen amittit.*⁶ This implies the second Donatist affirmation, *i. e.*, that, outside the true Church, sacraments cannot be administered validly. This had been St. Cyprian's mistaken idea, and on the whole, the Donatists could with truth claim him as their authority on this point.⁷ At any rate, they reproduced his arguments and, like him, asked if it were really possible for any one, since the Church was one, and Christ, indivisible, to receive baptism outside this Church and outside this Christ.⁸ Like him, they went still further and declared that the inner sanctity of the minister was the condition of the conferring of grace: *Qui non habet quod det, quomodo dat?*⁹ — a doctrine fraught with many dangers.

⁴ *Gesta collationis*, III, 258, col. 1408 D, 1410 D, 1413 A; cf. III, 263.

⁵ AUGUST., *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 21.

⁶ AUGUST., *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, II, 30.

⁷ Of course, they did not fail to do so, and St. Augustine had to answer them on this point, in Books II-V of his *De baptismo*.

⁸ *Gesta collat.*, III, 258 (col. 1413 A). AUGUST., *De baptismo contra donatist.*, I, 17. We need not observe that, like St. Cyprian, the Donatists made no distinction between the validity of baptism and its efficacy.

⁹ OPTAT., V, 6.

Everything, they said, goes back to some beginning, and an evil root, an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit; one who is spiritually dead, like a wicked minister, cannot impart life: *Conscientia namque dantis attenditur qui abluat accipientis*.¹⁰

The whole Donatist error is contained in these two principles, of which they had at times to correct the severity. For instance, while they were bent on regarding as outside the Church not only the *traditores*, but also all those who had with them any relations whatever, that is, all Catholics,¹¹ on the other hand they pushed, to their extreme consequences, neither their theory of the holiness of the Church, nor their theory of the holiness of the minister as a condition of the validity of the sacrament. For, indeed, how were secret sins less opposed to the purity of the Church than public faults, and why were not secret sinners excluded *ipso facto* from her bosom? And yet, the Donatists tolerated these, and even declared that their presence was of no detriment to the just.¹² Again, if the interior sanctity of the minister is required for the valid administration of the sacraments, and if the minister is the source of grace and can give it only on condition that he possess it, must not the sacraments administered even by secret sinners be looked upon as null? Yet, the Donatists shrank from admitting this consequence, and accepted the sacraments conferred by unworthy ministers who were not known as such: *Quamvis habeat (baptizans) conscientiam maculosam, mihi tamen, quia ab eo baptizor, quia latet et nescio, sufficit quod ab eo accipio, cuius innocentem, quia in ecclesia est, conscientiam puto. Nam ideo conscientiam dantis attendo non ut, quod*

¹⁰ AUGUST., *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14; *Contra epistul. Parmeniani*, II, 32; OPTAT., V, 7.

¹¹ *Gesta collationis*, III, 258 (col. 1411); AUGUST., *Contra epistul. Parmeniani*, I, 4, 6.

¹² *Gesta collationis*, III, 258, col. 1410.

*fieri non potest, de latentibus iudicem, sed ut si quid de illo in publica conscientia est, non ignorem.*¹³

But the Donatists had to do more than formulate principles. In order to be entitled to reject the sacraments of the Catholics, they must prove, besides, that the Catholics were outside the true Church; they must go back to the starting-point of the dispute, they must, in short, prove that Felix of Aptunga had been a *traditor*, and that, by holding intercourse with him and his successors, all the bishops, priests, deacons and faithful of the whole world — barring the Donatists — had seceded from the fold of Christ. To this task the Donatists set themselves with energy, if not with success. At all events, they could make headway only after modifying the concept of the Church's catholicity.¹⁴ In fact, their opponents were unceasingly casting up against them their comparatively small number and the narrow limits of their church, which did not extend beyond Africa, whereas the Church of the *Cæcilianists* filled the whole world. How could the Donatists, then, claim to be the Catholic Church? They replied that the word Catholic did not refer to territorial universality, but purity, holiness and the full possession of the sacraments: *Catholicum nomen putant ad provincias vel ad gentes referendum, cum hoc sit catholicum nomen quod sacramentis plenum est, quod perfectum, quod immaculatum, non ad gentes*:¹⁵ a reply which amounted simply to a re-statement of the thesis to be proved. Meantime the Donatists looked upon their thesis as sufficiently established, and they acted accordingly. They held the baptism and confirmation of Catholics to be null,

¹³ Ap. AUGUST., *Contra Cresconium*, II, 21.

¹⁴ Regarding the marks of the true Church according to the Donatists, see OPTATUS, II, 2 and foll.

¹⁵ *Gesta collationis*, III, 102, col. 1381; cf. AUGUST., *Breviculus collation.*, III, 3; *Epist.* XCIII, 23 (*P. L.*, XXXIII, 333).

and repeated them.¹⁶ They also repeated the ordinations performed after the schism by the bishops of the opposed party,¹⁷ and, in order to show openly that they acknowledged no power in these new priests and bishops, they went so far as to profane and tread under foot the chrism and Eucharist which these had consecrated.¹⁸

Such is the Donatist doctrine. It is summed up in two errors: one, concerning the Church, and the other concerning the validity of the rite in the administration of the sacraments. From a theological point of view, Donatism was, to say the least, exceedingly mediocre. We cannot explain its success, unless we take into account the lasting impressions of St. Cyprian's doctrine, the character of national resistance to the Romans which the schism assumed, and the strong organization which Donatus imparted to it. Even as early as the year 313, the dissenters had asked the Emperor Constantine himself to settle their dispute with the Catholics. This was to introduce the civil power into a religious discussion, and later on the Donatists were to regret that step.¹⁹ Meanwhile Constantine complied with their request. A first synod was held in the Lateran, under Pope Miltiades on October 2, 313. The charges that had been brought against Cæcilian could not be proved, and proposals were made to the Donatists looking to the establishment of peace. But the dissenters rejected these proposals and demanded another inquiry.²⁰ This inquiry showed beyond all doubt that Felix of Aptunga had

¹⁶ OPTAT., I, 5; III, 2; IV, 4; VII, 4. AUGUST., *De unico baptismo*, 21; *Epist.* CVI-CVIII.

¹⁷ AUGUST., *Epist.* CVIII, 19; *Contra litter. Petiliani*, III, 44. *Gesta collation.*, I, 201, col. 1339.

¹⁸ OPTAT., II, 19, 21; cf. VI, 1 and foll.

¹⁹ *Quid christianis cum regibus? Aut quid episcopis cum palatio?* But it was too late to regret a situation which they themselves had brought about (OPTAT., I, 22; AUGUST., *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 202).

²⁰ OPTAT., I, 22-25.

not been a *traditor*; ²¹ and almost at the same time a great Council assembled at Arles (August 1, 314) and condemned the Donatist practices. In the 8th canon, the Council forbade the rebaptizing of those who came to the Church from heresy and who had been already baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; in the 13th canon, it decided that, in case the ministers ordained by the *traditores* were found worthy to remain in the ranks of the clergy, they should not suffer from this circumstance of their ordination: *Nam si iidem (traditores) aliquos ordinasse fuerint deprehensi, et hi quos ordinaverunt rationales subsistunt, non illis obsit ordinatio.*²²

As their complaint had been dismissed and they themselves, condemned, the Donatists ought in consistency to have submitted. This they refused to do; nay, they so harassed the Emperor that he consented once more to have them judged, and judged by himself, at Milan (316). Once more they were condemned and Cæcilian proclaimed innocent.²³

It remained for them either to come back to the Church or to rebel; for Constantine, who had condemned them, was fully determined to have his decision carried out. They chose to rebel. The imperial power endeavored to force them to obey; and then it was that there began between the schismatics, supported by the Circumcellions, and the emperors, served by such generals as Ursacius and Macarius, that struggle which lasted — though not continuously — for a whole century, and some episodes of which were so tragic. We have not to follow it here. It had hardly any

²¹ OPTAT., I, 27; *Gesta purgationis Felicis* (P. L., VIII, col. 718 and foll.).

²² HEFELE, *Hist. des Conciles*, 2d edit., French transl., I, 1, p. 289 or *History of the Councils*, vol. I, pp. 191–192; *Epist. II synodi arelatensis ad Sylvestrum papam* (P. L., VIII, 818 and foll.).

²³ *Epist. Constantini ad Eumalium vicarium* (P. L., VIII, 491).

result, except, perhaps, that it succeeded in confining the disturbance to Africa. Outside of this province, the Donatists were only able to establish at Rome a community, which did not prosper,²⁴ and in Spain a bishop who had no followers. On the other hand, they were in the majority in Africa, even at the end of the 4th century. There were 270 bishops at their Council of Carthage about the year 330, 310 bishops attended that of Bagai and at the conference of Carthage, in the year 411, 279 of their bishops were present.²⁵

Two causes, however, brought about the downfall of the party. First, its domestic broils. While it suffered but little from the secession of the Rogatists in the *Mauretania Cæsariensis*, about the year 370,²⁶ it received a deadly blow, in the year 392 and afterwards, from the important schism of the Maximianists, which occurred at Carthage itself and in which more than 100 bishops took part.²⁷ There were also several secessions of a more personal character, and, while not as important as the two just mentioned, they also weakened the strong discipline established by Donatus the Great.²⁸

The second cause of the downfall of Donatism was the influence and activity of St. Augustine. As early as the

²⁴ OPTAT., II, 4.

²⁵ To estimate properly these numbers one must bear in mind, however, that bishoprics were exceedingly numerous in Africa, and also that often there were in the same city or town two bishops, one Catholic, the other Donatist.

²⁶ AUGUST., *Epist.* XCIII, I, II.

²⁷ See TILLEMONT, *Mémoires pour servir à l'hist. ecclés.*, VI, p. 160 and foll.

²⁸ We must mention, among these secessions, that of the illustrious Tychonius, an independent and sincere character, who was excommunicated by the party and drew nearer and nearer to the orthodox, although he never entered the fold. He has left in writing some interesting rules for the interpretation of Holy Writ. See on this subject TRAUGOTT HAHN, *Tychonius-Studien*, Leipzig, 1900.

year 370, St. Optatus had composed against the schismatics a treatise replete with facts and argument. The Bishop of Hippo brought back many of these wanderers by his meekness as much as by his learning; but it was especially the public conference in the year 411, where Catholics and Donatists disputed for three days before the Emperor's legate, Marcellinus, which proved a triumph for St. Augustine.²⁹ The victory remained on the Catholic side, and many Donatists acknowledged their errors and came back to the Church. This movement of conversion continued in the following years, and thenceforth the schism declined considerably. There are found but few traces of it until the end of the 6th century, when it seems to have revived at the time of St. Gregory the Great. The Pope was compelled to take energetic measures and the civil authorities again came forward to suppress the schism.³⁰ The Arab invasion, which took place soon after, destroyed for ever whatever remained of it.

§ 2. Priscillianism.³¹

The history of Priscillian, and his doctrine in particular,

²⁹ See the *Acta*, P. L., XI, col. 1231 and foll., and ST. AUGUST., *Breviculus collationis*, P. L., XLIII, col. 613 and foll.

³⁰ See several letters of the Pope on this subject, P. L., XI, 1435 and foll.

³¹ Sources: first, Priscillian's writings: *Priscilliani quae supersunt recensuit* GEORGIUS SCHEPPS, Vienna, 1889 (*Corpus scriptor. ecclesiastic. latin.*, vol. XVIII); then, the acts of the councils and the works of the authors who treated of his heresy. They are as follows, according to the approximate chronological order: The eight canons of the Council of Saragossa, of 380 (MANSI, III, 633); PHILASTRIUS, *De haeresibus*, 61, 84; ST. AMBROSE, *Epist.* XXIV (P. L., XVI); MAXIMUS, *Epist. ad Siricum* (P. L., XIII, 592); ST. JEROME, *De viris illustribus*, 121; *Epist.* CXXVI, CXXXIII; SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Historia sacra*, II, 46-51; *Dialogus* III, 11-13 (P. L., XX); P. OROSIUS, *Commonitorium de errore priscillianistarum et origenistarum* (edited after Priscillian's writings, or P. L., XXXI); ST. AUGUSTINE, *Epist.* CCXXXVII; *Contra mendacium*; *De haeresibus*, 70; *Contra priscillianistas et origen-*

constitute a problem which as yet has not been cleared up, and perhaps never shall be. Before the year 1889, when Schepps found and published a part of his writings, nearly all critics, relying on the authority of almost contemporary testimonies, looked upon him as a heretic of the worst kind. Since that time, a reaction has set in in his favor, and some critics are rather inclined to acquit him altogether, nay to recognize him as a great reformer and a great exegete. We shall see how the case really stands.

The origin of Priscillianism is known chiefly from the *Historia sacra* of Sulpitius Severus (II, 46–51), which was written in the first years of the 5th century. This origin, he himself declares, is obscure. A certain Egyptian, named Marcus, it would seem, arrived in Spain about the year 370, bringing with him a secret doctrine borrowed from Gnosticism. He won over first a noble lady, Agape, and a rhetorician, Elpidius, both of whom became Priscillian's teachers. Priscillian, who was still a layman, had a subtle and ingenious mind, and, in spite of his vanity and pride, was deservedly revered for his austere life. In a short while,

istas; PASTOR OF GALLECIA, *Libellus in modum symboli* (these are the creed and anathemas wrongly ascribed to the first or second Council of Toledo. MANSI, *Coll. conc.*, III, 1002 and foll.; HAHN, *Biblioth.*, § 168; KUENSTLE, *Op. inf. cit.*, p. 43 and foll.). The anathemas of the Council of Braga, in the year 563 (MANSI, IX, 774 and foll.; HAHN, *Bibl.*, § 176; KUENSTLE, p. 36 and foll.). Let it suffice merely to mention the *Epist.* XV of St. Leo, which is probably spurious. The letter of Turribius to Idacius and Caponius (*P. L.*, LIV, 693) is certainly spurious.—Works: F. PARET, *Priscillianus, ein Reformator des 4 Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg, 1891. A. PUECH, *Journal des Savants*, 1891. Id., *Les origines du Priscillianisme et l'orthodoxie de Priscillien*, in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, 1912. P. DIERICH, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte Priscillians*, Breslau, 1897. K. KUENSTLE, *Antipriscilliana*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1905. H. LECLERCQ, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, Paris, 1906. J. CHAPMAN, *Priscillian, the Author of the Monarchian Prologues to the Vulgate Gospels*, in the *Revue bénédictine*, 1906, v. XXIII, pp. 335–339. E. C. BABUT, *Priscillien et le Priscillianisme*, Paris, 1909.

he gathered round him a certain number of disciples, women especially, and also a few bishops, Instantius and Silvanus among them. Then it was that the orthodox began to feel uneasy. The new heresy was denounced by Hyginus, bishop of Cordova, to Idacius of Emerita, and condemned in the year 380 by a Council of Saragossa.³² Unfortunately, the execution of the sentence was entrusted to the Bishop of Ossonoba, Ithacius, who was absolutely wanting in moderation. The followers of Priscillian resisted. Hyginus of Cordova passed over to their side, and Priscillian was ordained bishop of Avila. The triumph of the sect was shortlived. Idacius and Ithacius applied for help to Gratian, and the Priscillianists were exiled.

However, their bishops, Instantius, Salvianus and Priscillian did not lose courage. In hope of assistance, they started for Rome, and on their way to Italy, spread their errors in Aquitaine. On their arrival at Rome, Pope Damasus, who had been forewarned, refused to receive them.³³ They met with a like rebuff from St. Ambrose at Milan. However, they succeeded by intrigue in having Gratian's edict revoked. But Ithacius was not a man to let go his prey. The usurper Maximus had just declared himself emperor at Treves. Ithacius obtained from him instructions that the heretics should appear at the Council of Bordeaux (385). In this Council, Instantius pleaded his own de-

³² The fact related here by Sulpitius Severus is gainsaid by Priscillian himself (*Tract.* II, p. 35): the latter states that, in the Council of Saragossa, "*nemo e nostris reus factus tenetur, nemo accusatus, nemo convictus, nemo damnatus est, nullum nomini nostro vel proposito vel vite crimen obiectum est.*" He adds that the Priscillianists did not attend the Council. As a matter of fact, the canons of the Council do not mention them, and condemn merely some over-austere practices with which the innovators were charged.

³³ It was probably on this occasion that Priscillian wrote his IIInd treatise, *Liber ad Damasum episcopum* (p. 34 and foll.), in which he defends his doctrine and conduct.

fense. Priscillian made the mistake of appealing to Maximus himself. This was to be his ruin. The Priscillianists were brought to Treves, and were followed thither by their accusers. In vain did St. Martin, who was then at Treves, interpose between the heretics and their opponents, and beg Maximus to save the lives of the former, even though their doctrines were condemned.³⁴ In vain also did Ithacius, frightened at the last moment by the responsibility he had assumed and by the protests raised against his conduct, give up his function of accuser. Urged on by two bishops, Rufus and Magnus, Maximus listened only to those who counseled severity. A layman again took up the accusations. Priscillian had acknowledged himself guilty of immorality and of the study of abominable subjects. On the charge of witchcraft, he was condemned to death. Two clerics, one deacon, several laymen, and even a woman, were also executed with him. Instantius and other Priscillianists were transported or punished with exile. These measures met with an outburst of strong disapproval. St. Ambrose, who had arrived at Treves in the meantime, refused to hold intercourse with the bishops who had urged Maximus to these harsh measures.³⁵ Idacius resigned the episcopate of his own accord, and Ithacius was ignominiously deposed.

Such is the account given by Sulpitius Severus. He adds, besides, that far from causing the downfall of the sect, the punishment — of death or exile — inflicted on the Priscillianist leaders, seemed to give new life to its fanaticism. However, the Council of Toledo, in the year 400, wit-

³⁴ He even regretted that a civil judge should be called to decide in a doctrinal question: *Satis superque sufficere, ut episcopali sententia haeretici iudicati ecclesiis pellerentur; novum esse et inauditum nefas, causam ecclesiae iudex saeculi iudicaret* (*Hist. sacra*, II, 50).

³⁵ AMBROSE, *Epist.* XXIV, 12. This detail is not given by Sulpitius Severus.

nessed the return of some bishops to orthodoxy. One of these was Dictinius of Astorga, the author of a work entitled "The Scales" (*Libra*). In the year 415, at the entreaty of Paul Orosius, St. Augustine wrote against the error his CCXXXVIIth letter and his treatise *Contra mendacium*. In this latter book, he condemned the method of secrecy and dissimulation which the Priscillianists were accused of using in reference to their teaching; but he deprecated also the use of the same method of lying and deceit to which some Catholics had resorted in order to learn the secrets of Priscillianism. Several years later, about the year 447, Turribius, bishop of Astorga, wrote to St. Leo and again denounced the sect to him. The Bishop's letter is no longer extant, and the Pope's authentic reply has also probably perished.³⁶ The struggle between heretics and orthodox was kept up in the shape of tracts, symbols and more or less direct condemnations on the part of Councils. The last great manifestation against Priscillianism took place in the Council of Braga, in the year 563, when 17 anathemas were pronounced against the various Priscillianist tenets. This was to mark the end of the heresy. After that time, it hardly appears at all in history.

And now, what was the Priscillian doctrine? The clearest and fullest exposition of the system is contained in the anathemas of the Council of Braga just mentioned. It is true that between these anathemas and the rise of the sect, there is a lapse of almost two hundred years; but the substance of them is found entire in the *Libellus* of Bishop Pastor, which was composed about the middle of the 5th century, and also, in great part, in the sources that go back to the beginning of the same century and even to the end

³⁶ Cf. KUENSTLE, *op. cit.*, p. 117 et seq. The Councils of Toledo and of Braga, which are reported to have taken place after the Pope's reply, never took place at all. Owing to the state of affairs in Spain at that time, provincial Councils were out of the question.

of the 4th century. Hence we may look upon these anathemas as containing the genuine definition of Priscillianism, in its full development. As to the personal teaching of Priscillian, we must look for it in his own writings, of course. But it happens that there are divergences, nay contradictions between the doctrine contained in Priscillian's writings and that ascribed to him, or at least supposed to have come from him. How are we to account for these differences? Which are we to believe: Priscillian or the authors who tell us of him? Briefly, on which side is the truth in this conflict? This is the question which we shall try to answer.

First, let us see what Priscillianism was during the 5th and 6th centuries.

As has been said before, the Council of Braga reduces to the seventeen following headings its errors and objectionable practices. The reader will find in footnotes references to the most ancient documents, which sustain the assertions of the Council.

I.—The Priscillianists deny the real distinction of the divine Persons: they are Sabellians.³⁷

II.—They admit in God a sort of emanation *ad intra* of eons or divine beings, so that there is in the Divinity *trinitas trinitatis*.³⁸

III.—The Son of God, Our Lord, did not exist before His birth of Mary.

IV.—The Priscillianists are Docetæ, and do not believe that Jesus Christ was born *in vera hominis natura*. Hence they fast on the birthday of Christ and on Sundays.³⁹

³⁷ OROS., *Commonitor.*, 2. PASTOR, *Libellus*, anath. II, III, IV. AUGUST., *De haeresibus*, 70. We must also undoubtedly place here the VIth anathema of the *Libellus*: *Si quis dixerit Christum inascibilem esse*, an expression which seems to have a distinctly Priscillianist origin.

³⁸ PASTOR, *Libellus*, anath. XIV.

³⁹ Council of Saragossa, can. 2.

V.—Angels and human souls are emanations of the divine substance.⁴⁰

VI.—Human souls sinned in heaven, where they dwelt, and on this account they were cast into the bodies of men upon earth.⁴¹

VII.—The devil was not first a good angel created by God: he came from chaos and darkness; he was not created. He is the very substance of evil.

VIII.—There exist in the world creatures that are the work of the devil. He is the author of thunder, lightning, storms and droughts.⁴²

IX.—Human souls and bodies are subject to the influence of the stars.⁴³

X.—The twelve signs of the zodiac correspond to the various parts of the body and of the soul, and are connected with the names of the twelve Patriarchs.⁴⁴

XI.—Marriage is evil, and the procreation of children deserves condemnation.⁴⁵

XII.—The formation of the child's body in the mother's womb is accomplished by Satan and the demons. The body will not rise.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ OROS., *Commonitor.*, 2; AUGUST., *De haeresibus*, 70; *Contra mendac.*, 8; PASTOR, *Libell.*, anath. XI.

⁴¹ Paul Orosius (*Commonitor.*, 2) and St. Augustine (*De haeresibus*, 70) state this point more accurately. The souls, born of God, descend through seven heavens or circles to fight upon earth. They are seized by the wicked powers that rule the world, and sowed into the bodies. This is why the devil is represented in the parable of the seed, under the image of a sower, because he has sowed the souls into bodies, stones and thorns.

⁴² Cf. PHILASTRIUS, *De haeres.*, 84; PASTOR, *Libellus*, anath. I.

⁴³ PASTOR, *Libellus*, anath. XV; AUGUST., *De haeresib.*, 70.

⁴⁴ OROS., *Common.*, 2; AUGUST., *De haeres.*, 70; PASTOR, *Libell.*, anath. XV.

⁴⁵ PHILASTRIUS, *De haer.*, 84; AUG., *De haer.*, 70; PASTOR, *Libell.*, anath. XVI.

⁴⁶ PASTOR, *Libell.*, anath. X.

XIII.—The body is not the work of God, but a creation of the bad angels.⁴⁷

XIV.—The Priscillianists abstain from meat and even from vegetables cooked with meat, not as mortification, but because they look upon meat as an unclean food.⁴⁸

XV.—The sect teaches that clerics and monks can keep, not only their mother, sister, aunt and very close relatives, but even strange women, and live with them.

XVI.—On Holy Thursday, contrary to the custom of the Church, the Priscillianists celebrate, at the hour of Tierce, Masses for the dead and break the fast.

XVII.—Finally the XVIIth anathema declares that Priscillian perverted the Scriptures; it forbids any one to read or defend either the treatises written by Bishop Dictinius before his conversion, or the writings forged by the heretics under the name of the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles.⁴⁹

To these charges of the Council of Braga, others that are mentioned by the writers of the 4th and 5th centuries may be added. Thus the Priscillianists were accused of using too freely the allegorical method in the interpretation of Holy Writ,⁵⁰ of placing on the same level as the canonical books, even of preferring to them, apocryphal books void of any authority,⁵¹ and of using a *Memoria Apostolorum* which explained the Gospels in a very peculiar way.⁵² Besides, St. Augustine quotes some passages of a *Hymnus Domini*, which was supposed to be a canticle sung by Jesus after the last supper and which was held by the heretics

⁴⁷ PHILASTRIUS, *De haeres.*, 84.

⁴⁸ PHILASTRIUS, *De haeres.*, 84; AUGUST., *De haeresib.*, 70; PASTOR, *Libell.*, anath. XVII.

⁴⁹ OROS., *Commonit.*, 2; AUGUST., *Contra mendac.*, 5; *De haeres.*, 70; *Epist.* CCXXXVII, 3.

⁵⁰ AUGUST., *De haeres.*, 70.

⁵¹ AUGUST., *Epist.* CCXXXVII, 3; *De haeres.*, 70; OROS., *Commonit.*, 2; PASTOR, *Libell.*, anath. XII.

⁵² OROS., *Commonit.*, 2.

in great esteem.⁵³ They accounted for the origin of several natural phenomena by myths of a strange character.⁵⁴ Furthermore, St. Jerome and Sulpitius Severus charge them with infamous practices.⁵⁵ Lastly, they were accused of dissembling their real sentiments, in presence of those who did not share their views, and of allowing perjury rather than the disclosure of the secrets of the sect: "*Iura, periura, secretum prodere noli.*"⁵⁶ Nay, they allowed their followers to deny Christ in order to escape persecution.⁵⁷

This, then, was the way in which the Priscillianist doctrine was regarded during the 5th century. Writers and Councils looked upon it as a mixture of Gnosticism and Manicheism,⁵⁸ a composite system in which there were elements of dualism, astrology, Pythagorism, Docetism and immoderate Encratism—the whole combined with Sabelianism and some Origenist tenets.

But was this the teaching of Priscillian, and taking into account the subsequent developments which may and must have occurred, do we find in his writings at least the substance of these various doctrines?

Of some of these doctrines, yes; but not of all of them. The first charge which the perusal of Priscillian's writings apparently confirms, is that he used wrongly some apocryphal books. Priscillian has written on this subject a whole treatise (the IIId): *Liber de fide et apocryphis*. He observes that the canonical authors have made use of uncanon-

⁵³ *Epist.* CCXXXVII, 4 and foll.

⁵⁴ OROS., *Commonitor.*, 2.

⁵⁵ JEROME, *Epist.* CXXXIII, 3; SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Histor. sacra*, II, 50.

⁵⁶ AUGUST., *De haeres.*, 70; *Epist.* CCXXXVII, 3; *Contra mendac.*, 2.

⁵⁷ AUGUST., *Contra mendac.*, 25.

⁵⁸ PHILASTRIUS, *De haeres.*, 84, 61; AUGUST., *De haeres.*, 70. Harnack (*Lehrb. der DG.*, II, 527, or *Hist. of Dogma*, vol. III, p. 336) says that "it has not been proved that the Spanish Priscillians had been already influenced by Manicheism in the 4th century."

ical books and prophecies: this is the case for instance with St. Jude (p. 44, 45), the Gospel, St. Paul, Daniel, Ezechiel (p. 48, 50). Also prophecies of Noe, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are mentioned in the Bible (p. 45-47). St. Paul advised the Colossians to read his Epistle to the Laodiceans, which is not canonical (p. 55). Priscillian concludes that the canon does not contain all that is inspired, and that, whereas the apocryphal or extra-canonical books must not be placed in the hands of every one—since the text has been perverted by heretics,—still there are in them excellent elements by which we must profit (p. 46, 47, 56). Acting on these principles, Schepps deems it probable that the Bishop of Avila had introduced the Epistle to the Laodiceans into his canon of the Epistles of St. Paul, and that he thus ascribed 15 Epistles to the Apostle.⁵⁹

Another more serious charge, for which some ground is found in Priscillian's writings, is that of Sabellianism. Besides the fact that he insists much on the unity of God,⁶⁰—which is correct in itself,—there are found in his works two or three formulas that are quite suspicious from the point of view which we are now considering: "*Tu enim es deus qui . . . unus deus crederis, invisibilis in patre, visibilis in filio et unitus in opus duorum sanctus spiritus inveniris.*"⁶¹ Again, speaking of the Incarnation: "*Invisibilis cernitur, innascibilis nascitur, incomprehensibilis adtinetur.*"⁶² Finally: "*Unus deus trina potestate venerabilis, omnia et in omnibus Christus est sicut scribuntur: Abrahae dictae sunt repromissiones et semini eius: non dicit in seminibus tanquam in multis sed quasi in uno et semini tuo quod est Christus.*"⁶³ This last passage, Künstle re-

⁵⁹ *Praefatio*, p. xii.

⁶⁰ *Tractat.* I, p. 5; V, pp. 66, 67.

⁶¹ *Tractat.* XI, p. 103.

⁶² *Tractat.* VI, p. 74.

⁶³ *Tractat.* II, p. 37, and cf. *Tractat.* VI, p. 75.

marks, seems to express a sort of panchristism.⁶⁴ And yet, Priscillian condemns Patripassianism,⁶⁵ and contrary to the statement of Orosius, his baptismal formula contains the word *et* between the names of the divine Persons.⁶⁶

Third accusation. The Council of Braga (anath. V) charges Priscillian with looking upon angels and souls as emanations of the divine substance, and Bishop Pastor (anath. V) accuses him of Apollinarianism. As a matter of fact, there is some trace of this last error, I think, especially in these words of the VIth treatise (p. 74): "*Denique deus noster adsumens carnem, formam in se dei et hominis, id est divinae animae et terrenae carnis adsignans, etc.*" Here the *divina anima* is the Word.

We may add the decidedly Gnostic character of the fragment of a letter, quoted by Paul Orosius in his *Commonitorium*, 2; the teaching of the XXXIIIrd canon (p. 124) upon abstaining from the deeds of the flesh; of the XXXVth canon (p. 125) upon abstaining from meat and wine; a disapproval — in any case, very indirect — of marriage and of the begetting of children, in the IVth treatise (p. 59, 60: "*humanae nativitatis vitia castigat [Christus]*"); and these are all the traces, to be found in Priscillian's writings, of the teachings ascribed during the 4th and 5th centuries to him or to his disciples.

But, on the other hand, these teachings are contradicted and condemned in these same writings. Thus, Priscillian holds that God is the creator of the world, of man and of the human body;⁶⁷ he rejects Manicheism, while he admits that some of his followers are charged with this error;⁶⁸ he reproves those who adore the stars and ascribe certain

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 21, and cf. OROSIUS, *Commonitor.*, 2.

⁶⁵ *Tract.* I, pp. 6, 23; II, p. 38.

⁶⁶ *Tractat.* II, p. 37; OROS., *Commonitor.*, 2.

⁶⁷ *Tractat.* V, pp. 63, 65; XI, pp. 104, 105.

⁶⁸ *Tractat.* I, p. 22; II, pp. 39, 40.

powers to them;⁶⁹ he affirms and repeats that Jesus came in the flesh, and he rejects docetism.⁷⁰ He anathematizes the Nicolaitans, Ophites, Arians, Novatians, Basilidians, Homuncionites, Borborites and Patripassians.⁷¹ The difference of sexes comes from God, and all must fight against concupiscence.⁷² He professes his belief in the resurrection of the body,⁷³ and admits only four Gospels.⁷⁴ We must also notice the testimony which he gives to Mary's virginity *post partum*.⁷⁵

Between these statements of Priscillian and Priscillianism as it was known till the discovery made by Schepps, there is so vast a difference that not even a rapid development of ideas can account for it, because the germs of some of these ideas are not found in the originator of the sect. As early as the year 392, St. Jerome stated, in his *De viris illustribus* (121), that there was difference of opinion as to the exact teaching of the Bishop of Avila "*defendentibus aliis non ita eum sensisse ut arguitur*." This was due either to the fact that his teaching lent itself to diverse interpretations, or to the fact that his writings did not fully correspond to the views which were ascribed to him. Now, can we solve, at the present day, the question raised by St. Jerome? Can we account for the divergences between the treatises of Priscillian and the anathemas of Pastor, for instance, and decide which of the two is entitled to belief? Not altogether. True, it may be remarked, on one hand, that such men as Sulpitius Severus, Orosius and Pastor are sincere and near to the events, and on the other, that we possess

⁶⁹ *Tractat.* I, p. 14; V, pp. 63, 65; VI, p. 78.

⁷⁰ *Tractat.* I, pp. 7, 21; IV, p. 60; X, p. 102.

⁷¹ *Tractat.* I, p. 23; II, p. 38.

⁷² *Tractat.* I, p. 28; X, pp. 101, 102.

⁷³ *Tractat.* I, p. 29; II, p. 37.

⁷⁴ *Tractat.* I, p. 31.

⁷⁵ *Tractat.* VI, p. 74.

only a part of Priscillian's writings, and that their shifty character, the subtlety of his vague and long-drawn-out phraseology can only prompt us to distrust his truthfulness, that we fail to see why he should have valued so highly the apocryphal books, were it not that in so doing he obtained some doctrinal advantage, and, finally, that at an early date the sect was charged with dissembling its genuine sentiments. No doubt, all these various considerations tell against the innovator; but they do not destroy altogether the impression which is produced by the distinctness of his declarations. We must take into account the worldly and sensual character of his earliest and greatest opponent, Bishop Ithacius, and we may well ask ourselves whether, on the subject of encratism, for example, some of the austerities of Priscillian and his followers—even granting that these practices had a tinge of exaggeration—were not presented as genuine heresies to the men of that age by that personage of whom Sulpitius Severus writes that “he proceeded even to such a pitch of folly as to charge all those men, however holy, who either took delight in reading, or made it their object to vie with each other in the practice of fasting, with being friends or disciples of Priscillian,” that “he even ventured publicly to bring forward a disgraceful charge of heresy against Martin, . . . a man clearly worthy of being compared to the Apostles.”⁷⁶

Hence we cannot pass final judgment on the primitive teaching of the Bishop of Avila, except as regards those points which are clearly confirmed by his writings.

§ 3. Errors of Helvidius, Bonosus, Jovinian and Vigilantius.

While Priscillianism was disturbing Spain and Aquitaine, several less important errors—which must be mentioned,

⁷⁶ SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Historia Sacra*, II, 50 [*The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, vol. XI, p. 121].

however,—were causing trouble in other parts of the Church.

The first in chronological order is that of Helvidius.⁷⁷

This error is known only through St. Jerome, who refuted it probably in the year 383. In this refutation, we are told that Helvidius, “an ignorant boor,” had upheld in a book: (1) that Mary, after begetting Jesus *ex Spiritu Sancto*, had had intercourse with St. Joseph and brought forth several children (3–17); (2) that, in the eyes of God, the married state is not inferior to the state of continence (18). The first affirmation he based on the texts that speak of Jesus as a first-born child, and on those which mention His *fratres* (*Matth.* I, 18; XIII, 55, 56; *Mark* VI, 3; *Luke* II, 4 and foll.; VIII, 20; *John* II, 12; VII, 3–5; *Acts*, I, 14), and also on the authority of Tertullian and of Victorinus of Pettau. The second statement he confirmed by the consideration that marriage, being something natural and willed by God, cannot be looked upon as a morally inferior state.

The only punishment inflicted on this error seems to have been St. Jerome’s disdainful reply. The Saint gave an explanation of the texts objected to (3–16), spurned the authority of Tertullian as of one who was not “of the Church,” denied that Victorinus had held the view which Helvidius attributed to him (17), called attention to the praises of virginity contained in the New Testament (20, 21), and concluded as follows: “*Natum Deum esse de virgine credimus quia legimus, Mariam nupsisse post partum non credimus, quia non legimus*” (19).

However, the same error was propounded, a few years later, by a Bishop of Sardica, named Bonosus.⁷⁸ After

⁷⁷ The only source is ST. JEROME, *De perpetua virginitate B. Mariæ adversus Helvidium* (P. L., XXIII).

⁷⁸ Sources: the letter of Pope SIRICIUS, wrongly ascribed to St. Ambrose (P. L., XVI, 1172 and foll.); ST. INNOCENT, *Epist.* XVI, XVII

being judged, apparently for the first time, and condemned and banished from his church, he had been advised by St. Ambrose to submit, at least provisionally, to his condemnation. But, after a new denunciation or after an appeal, he was again condemned both by Pope Siricius and by the Bishops of Macedonia, about the years 391-392. There resulted a schism, the schism of the Bonosians which lasted till the 7th century. Later on, the Bonosians were charged with various errors, particularly with Photinianism and Nestorianism. How far these accusations were justified, cannot be determined. Their baptism was proclaimed valid by the second Council of Arles in the year 443 or 452,⁷⁹ but rejected afterwards both by Gennadius in the *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* (52) and by St. Gregory the Great.⁸⁰

With Jovinian⁸¹ we come back to St. Jerome, from whom we learn more about him than from any other writer. Jovinian had been first a monk, even an austere monk; then, upon further consideration, he changed his mode of life. While remaining a monk and continuing to observe celibacy, he began to wear costly clothes, became fond of good cheer and denied himself none of the comforts of life. This complete change of conduct he tried to justify by the

(P. L., XX); ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *De haeresibus*, 53; HONORIUS OF AUTUN, *De haeresibus*, 68; PAUL, *De haeresibus*, 43; GENNADIUS, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, 52; MARIUS MERCATOR, *Blasphemiarum Nestorii capitula* XII, *Dissertatio Marii Mercatoris*, 15 (P. L., XLVIII, 928).

⁷⁹ HEFELE, *Hist. des Conc.*, 2d edit., French transl., II, 1, p. 467, can. 17, or *Hist. of the Councils*, vol. III, p. 169, canon 17.

⁸⁰ *Epist. lib. XI, Epist. LXVII* (P. L., LXXVII, 1206).

⁸¹ Sources: chiefly the extant fragments of Jovinian's writings, in W. HALLER, *Op. infra cit.*; then St. JEROME, *Adversus Iovinianum libri duo* (P. L., XXIII); *Dialogus advers. pelagianos*, Prolog., 2 (P. L., XXIII). St. AUGUSTINE, *De haeresibus*, 82. The synodal letter of the Council of Milan, in 390, inter epist. sancti Ambrosii, *Epist. XLII* (P. L., XVI), *Epist. Siricii* (P. L., XVI, 1121).—Work: W. HALLER, *Iovinianus (Texte und Untersuch., N. F., II, 2)*, Leipzig, 1897.

following sayings, in which St. Jerome sums up his doctrine:

"Dicit virgines, viduas et maritatas, quae semel in Christo lotae sunt, si non discrepent caeteris operibus, eiusdem esse meriti."

Nititur approbare eos qui plena fide in baptismo renati sunt, a diabolo non posse seduci.

Tertium proponit, inter abstinentionem ciborum et cum gratiarum actione perceptionem eorum nullam esse distantiam.

*Quartum quod et extremum, esse omnium qui suum baptismum servaverint, unam in regno caelorum remunerationem."*⁸²

In other words: (1) The state of virginity in itself is no more meritorious than the married state; (2) Those who have received baptism with full faith can sin no more; (3) Abstinence is no better than sumptuous living; (4) All those who have kept the grace of baptism will receive the same reward in heaven. To these errors we may add two others mentioned by St. Jerome and St. Augustine: (5) All sinners shall be punished equally, because all sins are equally grave: *"nullam esse inter iustum et iustum, peccatorem et peccatorem distantiam."*⁸³ (6) Mary forfeited her virginity, in bringing forth Jesus.⁸⁴

These errors were spread at Rome by Jovinian, in a book which, although written in an obscure and bombastic style, did some harm among the faithful. However gross these errors might seem at first sight, they were in reality far-reaching. What, in the last analysis, Jovinian was preaching—and what has won for him ever since the

⁸² *Adv. Iovinian.*, I, 3.

⁸³ *Adv. Iovinian.*, II, 21, 30, 31, 35.

⁸⁴ "Virgo concepit, sed non virgo generavit" (*Epist. syn. mediol.*, 4; AUGUST., *De haeres.*, 82).

sympathy of all genuine Protestants — was salvation by faith alone, and the uselessness of good works for salvation. All Christians without exception are saved. Whoever receives baptism *plena fide* can never fall away, and it matters little whether he practises abstinence and continency or not, since these austerities are in no way better than their contrary, and since all the just are to receive equal reward.⁸⁵ What *does* matter is to preserve the faith, and one is sure to preserve it, if from the beginning he has received it full and strong in his baptism. Now, as we shall see later, this idea of salvation through faith and through baptism only, this idea of the salvation of all Christians, haunted many minds towards the end of the 4th century, and St. Augustine had to oppose it vigorously.⁸⁶ Jovinian's doctrine was, then, really far more important than it seemed at first. The whole Christian system of morality was at stake.

The danger was realized, and the error was denounced to Pope Siricius by Pammachius, who was one of St. Jerome's friends, and by several other Christians of distinction. The Pope condemned it in a Roman synod, in the year 390,⁸⁷ and communicated this decision to St. Ambrose, who had it accepted and confirmed in a small Council held at Milan in the same year. From the synodal letter written to Siricius on this occasion we learn (13) that the Emperor himself — Valentinian II — had reproved that error. Jovinian died in the year 406; but before dying he may have read the virulent refutation of his ideas, which St. Jerome published in the year 392 or 393. Moreover we may remark that his ideas do not seem to have survived him.

⁸⁵ "Si autem mihi opponis," Jovinian used to say, "quare iustus laboret in pace, aut persecutionibus, si nullus profectus est nec maiora præmia: scias hoc eum facere non ut plus mereatur, sed ne perdat quod accepit" (*Adv. Iovinian.*, II, 18).

⁸⁶ In his treatise *De fide et operibus*.

⁸⁷ *Epist. Siricii*, 5, 6.

With Jovinian, Vigilantius⁸⁸ is often associated, because both are intellectually related, as it were. Born in Gaul, probably not far from Toulouse, about the year 370, and first a slave in the domains of Sulpitius Severus, he arose gradually even to the priesthood, was entrusted several times with honorable missions and held epistolary relations with St. Jerome and St. Paulinus of Nola. This alone suffices to prove that, contrary to St. Jerome's assertion,⁸⁹ he was not "*imperitus verbis et scientia et sermone inconditus*," but rather, in the words of Gennadius, "*homo lingua politus*."⁹⁰ At any rate, this "polished" man seems to have been somewhat narrow-minded. Probably he was struck with the abuses that almost always creep in among the masses in connection with the honors paid to the saints and to their relics; or, perhaps, he witnessed some excesses of piety on the part of a certain number of monks and ascetics, and then, making no distinction between use and abuse, between practice and excess, he rejected altogether laws and customs that had sprung from the depth of Christian dogma.

It was about the year 403 that he vented his errors. Nothing of his writings has remained, except what St. Jerome has preserved in his refutations, and it may be that, in recording the views of his opponent, the uncompromising champion has forced them somewhat. However, everything is perfectly consistent in his exposition, and even supposing that there is some exaggeration, this exaggeration is neither alteration nor distortion.

Vigilantius finds fault especially with two practices: the religious life and the honor paid to the saints.

As for monastic life, he will have none of it. Fasting is

⁸⁸ Sources: ST. JEROME, *Epist.* LXI, CIX; *Contra Vigilantium* (P. L., XXIII); GENNADIUS, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, 33 (P. L., LVIII).

⁸⁹ *Contra Vigil.*, 3.

⁹⁰ *Op. et loc. cit.*

useless (1).⁹¹ To give away one's property little by little to the poor is much better than to distribute it all at once (14); and to help the poor of one's own country is much better than to send alms to the monasteries of Palestine (13, 14). To retire into solitude is to shun the duties of life; continence deprives the country of useful citizens (15).

But, what Vigilantius denounces chiefly is the veneration of the saints. He lays it down as a principle that the glorified souls of the just can have no relations with us; in other words, that there is no communion of saints between heaven and earth (6); the saints can neither pray nor intercede for us, and to pray to them is useless (6). Hence we must neither build basilicas in their honor, nor offer up the liturgical sacrifice over their tombs, nor keep the vigils of martyrs,—a practice which is a source of disorder (1, 8).⁹² As to relics, it is idolatry, even foolishness, to venerate lifeless ashes, a nameless something that is no longer connected with the soul; it is a sheer abuse to burn candles before them (1, 4, 7).⁹³

Vigilantius condemned also the custom of singing the Alleluia on other days than Easter, followed in the monasteries of Bethlehem (1), and from the LXIst letter, n. 4, which St. Jerome wrote to him, we learn that he explained in a very peculiar way the text of *Daniel* (II, 34-45) referring to the stone that was cut out of the rock of the mountain: *viz.*—the mountain was the devil, and the stone, Jesus Christ.

On the whole, the views of Vigilantius are very plain: first, he proposes to secularize the Church; secondly, he desires to direct all worship to God, as to its unique object, and to lessen its external manifestations.

⁹¹ Unless otherwise stated, the references between parentheses are to the *Contra Vigilantium*.

⁹² Cf. ST. JEROME, *Epist.* CIX, 1, 3.

⁹³ Cf. *Epist.* CIX, 1.

At first, these ideas were not so ill received: the Bishop of Toulouse — probably St. Exuperius — seems to have favored them, and other bishops also seem to have been deceived.⁹⁴ But the innovator was denounced by two priests, Desiderius and Riparius, to St. Jerome, who had already had some passes with him on the subject of Origenism.⁹⁵ The great Doctor refuted in his CIXth letter to Riparius some of the errors of Vigilantius. This was an incomplete refutation, however, for he had not at hand the writings of the latter. These reached him in the year 406; and in one night, Jerome hastily wrote his philippic *Contra Vigilantium*, in which irony and violent invective are used at times instead of genuine arguments, but the reasoning of which, on the whole solid and forceful, scored unquestionably a success over his opponent.

We do not know what became of Vigilantius, after this inglorious event. Some have inferred from Gennadius⁹⁶ that he was obliged by his bishop to leave his diocese and took refuge at Barcelona, where he was given charge of a parish. At any rate, his protests succeeded in checking neither the growth of monasticism, nor the progress of the veneration of the saints.

⁹⁴ JEROME, *Epist.* CIX, 2; *Contra Vigil.*, 2.

⁹⁵ JEROME, *Epist.* LXI.

⁹⁶ *De scriptor. eccles.*, 35.

CHAPTER IX

LATIN THEOLOGY DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY

§ 1. General View of the Authors.

WE should attempt in vain to group by *schools* the Latin ecclesiastical writers of the 4th century, as has been done for the Greek writers of the same age. There were then in the East several schools that had their respective definite and precise tendencies or doctrines; we do not meet with this in the West. No doubt, each of the authors of whom we are about to speak bears in the form of his ideas and in the character of his style, the impress of the particular surroundings in which he lived, and of the intellectual and theological influences which acted upon him; but we do not find among those writers the marked distinctions of methods and principles which constitute different schools. The conclusive reason for this is that the ancient Latin Church never speculated about her doctrines for the mere sake of speculation; she studied them and treated of them, for the sole purpose of drawing edification from them and of defending them.

Since we cannot make use of this first method of classification, it might remain for us to group the authors before us either according to their nationality — and thus we should have the African, the Spanish, the Italian and the Gallic group — or according to the department of theological literature — apologetics, polemics, catechetics — to which their works can be assigned. But of these two ways

of grouping, the latter, obviously, would be very complex in its application, and the former would hardly amount to more than an enumeration. Hence, in the following exposition, we shall simply throw into relief the most illustrious and prominent names, grouping around them, according to various points of affinity, those which are not so well known.

Three names tower unquestionably above all others in the history of the Christian Latin literature of the 4th century, — the names of Hilary, Ambrose and Jerome. Of these three great men, St. Hilary is certainly the ablest theologian.¹ St. Ambrose and St. Jerome lived in a time of comparative dogmatic peace, and concerned themselves with controversies only when urged by circumstances to do so. St. Hilary (bishop about the year 353, + in the year 366) saw Arianism at the height of its triumph, and prepared, nay brought about its utter downfall in Gaul and Italy. The first truly great Latin-speaking theologian, — if we except Tertullian — he coined a language of his own, which was not exceptionally clear, but fluent, vigorous and spirited. Most of his ideas were borrowed from the Greeks, whose works he had much leisure to study during the four years of his exile in the dioceses of Asia, and whose doctrinal concepts, together with some biblical interpretations, he brought to the knowledge of the Latin Church. His exegesis is derived from Origen, whereas his Trinitarian and Christological teaching is related to that of Athanasius,

¹ His works will be quoted from Migne's *Latin Patrology*, IX and X. Works: J. R. WIRTHMULLER, *Die Lehre des heil. Hilarius von Poitiers, über die Selbstentäußerung Christi*, Regensburg, 1865. BALTZER, *Die Theologie des heil. Hilarius von Poitiers*, Rottweil, 1879. Id., *Die Christologie des Hilarius von Poitiers*, Rottweil, 1889. TH. FÖRSTER, *Zur Theologie des Hilarius*, in the *Theolog., Stud. Krit.*, LXI, 1888. A. BECK, *Die Trinitätslehre des heil. Hilarius von Poitiers*, Mayence, 1903. G. RAUSCHEN, *Die Lehre des heil. Hilarius von Poitiers über die Leidenfähigkeit Christi* in the *Zeitschr. für kathol. Theol.*, v. XXX, 1906. G. RASNEUR, *L'homoïousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie*, in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiast.*, v. IV, 1903.

whom he follows in his uncompromising adherence to principles, as well as his conciliatory manner of applying them. The name "Athanasius of the West," which has been applied to him, fits him well, not only on account of his commanding character, but also on account of the special features of his theology. Among his works, those which are the most important for us are the twelve books *De Trinitate* and the *De synodis*; but none of his works can be ignored, for in all are to be found valuable dogmatic suggestions.

In St. Ambrose (bishop in the year 374, + 397),² we find also the Greek influence, though counterbalanced by a very decided Latin temperament. In becoming a bishop, Ambrose kept the mental attitude and habits of his previous consular charge. He is above all a man of government, a pastor, a leader of souls, an administrator of the Christian republic, a prelate who speaks with authority. While being most meek and exceedingly modest in his opinion of himself, he embodies in himself a Church which has become conscious of her strength, and which, after the downfall of Paganism, demands not only — as she did before — to live, but also to assume the moral leadership of peoples. As an exegete, St. Ambrose follows the method of St. Basil, with whom he maintains epistolary relations and whom he admires; he follows also the method of St. Hilary, St. Hippolytus, Origen, even of Philo, whom he imitates and transposes into the realm of Christian thought. This means, of course, that side by side with exhortation, allegory holds an important place in his commentaries. His theology presents

² His works will be quoted from Migne's *Latin Patrology*, XIV-XVII. — Works: TH. FÖRSTER, *Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand*, Halle, 1884. J. B. KELLNER, *Der heil. Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand, Erklärer des Alten Testaments*, Regensburg, 1893. R. THAMIN, *Saint Ambroise et la morale chrétienne au IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1895. J. E. NIEDERHUBER, *Die Eschatologie des heil. Ambrosius*, Paderborn, 1907. P. de LABRIOLLE, *Saint Ambroise*, Paris, 1908.

a similar character. There are found in it theories concerning evil, together with precise remarks on the meaning of the Nicene definitions, and mystical flights on the subject of virginity and of the soul, as the spouse of God. All this is of Greek origin, whereas the Roman shows himself in the attention paid to questions of practical conduct, of well-regulated asceticism, of discipline and of the internal government of a community. Evidently it is upon *this* that his heart is set, and we feel that Ambrose would fain make theology a sort of enlarged catechism. It can be said that from a dogmatic point of view none of his works is exceptionally important. They contributed nothing to the progress of dogma; but they are a very faithful specimen of those serene speculations which appealed to the Latin good sense, and which gave full satisfaction to the best minds.

As to St. Jerome,³ all know that he was a very learned man and a great exegete, more remarkable for his works of criticism and biblical geography than for his commentaries strictly so called. We cannot call him a great theologian, for "he never applied himself to personal reflections on the various dogmas of the Church, . . . and were the interest of a system to be measured by the power of conception which it manifests, surely we would find no interest at all in St. Jerome's theology."⁴ Now and then, however, he entered the lists of controversy in favor of orthodoxy against Helvidius, Jovinian, Vigilantius, the Luciferians, the Origenists and the Pelagians. But on all these occasions he accepted the doctrine ready made, as it were, and just as

³ His works will be quoted from Migne's *Latin Patrology*, XXII-XXX.—Works: G. GRUTZMACHER, *Hieronymus, ein biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin, 1906-1908. A. ROHRICHT, *Essai sur saint Jérôme exégète*, 1892. L. SANDERS, *Études sur saint Jérôme*, Paris, 1903. J. BROCHET, *Saint Jérôme et ses ennemis*, Paris, 1906. J. TURMEL, *Saint Jérôme*, Paris, 1906.

⁴ J. TURMEL, *Saint Jérôme*, p. 155.

the Church of Rome offered it to him: this doctrine he did not make his own, by thinking it out in his own mind. Besides, he is misled at times by his erudition, and as he reads everything — critical or uncritical — that falls into his hands, he does not know what opinion to choose where there is no express teaching of the Church. But he is an original writer, racy, lively, graphic, the one who, of all the writers of the Latin Church, has the most closely combined in his style classical form with individuality of thought and expression.

St. Hilary, St. Ambrose and St. Jerome are then, as has been said, the three writers of the Latin Church of the 4th century who hold the first claim to our attention; but, beside them, there are others, and these quite important indeed, the study of whom belongs to the history of Christian doctrine. At about the time when St. Hilary, a victim to his Nicene faith, left for exile, an illustrious rhetorician was converted at Rome, and this rhetorician was also to write directly (probably from the year 355 to the year 360) against Arianism, and especially to try to amalgamate the Neo-platonic doctrines and the teachings of the Church concerning God and the Logos. This was C. Marius Victorinus,⁵ commonly called Victorinus Afer, from the land of his birth. A profound philosopher and a forceful apologist, Victorinus uses with vigor alternately the weapon of Holy Writ and that of reason. He has much confidence in dialectics and pushes even to excess its application in the domain of faith. Moreover, his knowledge of Christianity is quite limited, and the Neo-platonic character of his writ-

⁵ His works are quoted here from Migne's *Latin Patrology*, VIII.—Works: KOFFMANE, *De Mario Victorino philosopho christiano*, Breslau, 1880. C. GORE, *Victorinus Afer*, in the *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, IV, 1887. GEIGER, *C. Marius Victorinus Afer, ein neuplatonischer Philosoph*, Metten, 1887–1889. R. SCHMID, *Marius Victorinus rhetor, und seine Beziehungen zu Augustin*, Kiel, 1895. P. MONCEAUX, *Histoire littér. de l'Afrique chrétienne*, III, Paris, 1905.

ings, which achieved success for a while, later on caused readers to be diverted from them. St. Jerome, even in his day, found fault with their obscurity. They are still more obscure for us, who possess them only in faulty MSS. and who, besides, are unfamiliar with the philosophy which they imply.

The Arians found another adversary in the Bishop of Agen, Phebadius, who, after the year 357, composed several books against them,⁶ and also in the Luciferian priest Faustinus, who, about the year 384, composed a treatise *De Trinitate*, at the request of the Empress Flacilla.⁷ They were also opposed, especially in their error regarding the Holy Ghost, by the Bishop of Remesiana in Dacia, Niceta,⁸ the friend of St. Paulinus of Nola. However, Niceta is more of a catechist than an apologist. He is known chiefly for his explanation of the Creed, which he composed about the year 375, and on this account, he must be classed with Rufinus of Aquileia, who also wrote a commentary on the Creed, with Zeno of Verona (bishop from the year 362 to the year 380),⁹ like Niceta, a pastor of souls and one who busied himself with the edification of his flock and, finally, with the Bishop of Barcelona, St. Pacian (bishop from about the year 360 to the year 390) from whom we have still several interesting and spirited works on the subject of baptism and penance.¹⁰

⁶ *P. L.*, XX.

⁷ *P. L.*, XIII.

⁸ Edit. E. BURN, *Niceta of Remesiana, his life and works*, Cambridge, 1905.—Works: The introduction of the same work, and E. HUMPEL, *Nicetas Bischof von Remesiana*, Erlangen, 1896; W. A. PATIN, *Niceta, Bischof von Remesiana*, München, 1909.

⁹ His writings to be found in *P. L.*, XI.—Works: A. BIGELMAIR, *Zeno von Verona*, Münster i. Westph., 1904. P. MONCEAUX, *Hist. littér. de l'Afrique chrétienne*, III, Paris, 1905.

¹⁰ His writings will be found in *P. L.*, XIII.—Works: H. PEYROT, *Paciani Barcelonensis episcopi opuscula edita et illustrata*, Zwolle, 1896.

For many years St. Ambrose has been looked upon as the author of an important tract *De sacramentis*,¹¹ which several critics (Bardenhewer) ascribe to the 5th or 6th century, while others (Duchesne, Batiffol) date it from about the year 400 and which belongs in any event to the school of the Church of Milan. The commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul,¹² quoted under the name of Ambrosiaster, is likewise not the work of the Bishop of Milan. Probably it is the work of Isaac, a convert from Judaism and later an apostate, who wrote during the pontificate of Damasus (366-384) and composed also the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, found among the works of St. Augustine.¹³

I shall merely mention the name of Julius Firmicus Maternus, whose book *De errore profanarum religionum*,¹⁴ written about the year 347, is more interesting from an historical than from a theological point of view. Prudentius too, wages war upon paganism and heresy in a whole section of his poems (404-405),¹⁵ and some scholars have looked upon his *Apotheosis*, and his *Hamartigenia* in particular, as a veiled, though unquestionable, refutation of Priscillianism. The historian of dogma has but little to glean from these compositions. It is quite otherwise with the work of St. Optatus, *De schismate donatistarum* (370-385). In the literature of the 4th century, the Bishop of Milevis is almost unique. On account of the subject of which he treats, he is more closely related to St. Augustine than to his contemporaries, and this is why I mention him last; moreover, in the theology of the Church and the sacraments, he is a leader whose ideas must be studied with care. He was not content to fight Donatism by means of history and facts; he

¹¹ In P. L., XVI.

¹² P. L., XVII.

¹³ P. L., XXXV.

¹⁴ P. L., XII.

¹⁵ P. L., LIX, LX.

arrayed against it a system of which the doctrine of the Bishop of Hippo is but a development and the principles of which were to be sanctioned afterwards.¹⁶

With these authors as our guides, we may now try to reconstruct Latin theology in the 4th century.

§ 2. Teaching as to the Sources of Faith.

Holy Writ is, of course, the first source from which the authors who are before us, draw their teaching. All look upon the Bible as inspired,¹⁷ although they do not analyze to any extent the idea of inspiration. St. Jerome alone remarks that, contrary to the belief of the Montanists, the inspired writers were not like passive instruments in the hands of God, rapt in ecstasy and, even themselves failing to understand what God was saying through their lips. No; they remained conscious and active, and this is why we perceive so much difference in the style of the sacred writers, seeing that each one stamped with his personality the expression of the inspired truth.¹⁸ Besides, as a consequence of inspiration, Holy Writ can neither contradict itself, nor err, nor deceive us;¹⁹ hence it must guide us. In it everything is perfect.²⁰

How do the Latin Fathers of the 4th century interpret it? As has been said already, St. Hilary, and still oftener St.

¹⁶ The work of St. Optatus is quoted here according to the edition of Migne's *Latin Patrology*, XI.—I must also mention LUCIFER OF CAGLIARI and his pupil, GREGORY OF ELVIRA, whose views regarding the Church recall Novatian's rigorism. Dom Wilmart has shown that Gregory is the author of the *Tractatus Origenis*, edited by Mgr. Batiffol.

¹⁷ HILARY, *In psalm*. LXIV, 3; AMBROSE, *De Spiritu Sancto*, III, 112; JEROME, *In epist. ad Gal.*, V, 20 (col. 417); *In Michaeam*, VII, 7 (col. 1222); *Epist.* CXXIII, 5.

¹⁸ *In Isaïam*, Prolog. (col. 19); *Epist.* CXXI, 10; and see the prefaces to the various commentaries.

¹⁹ JEROME, *In Nahum*, I, 9 (col. 1238); *Epist.* LVII, 7; cf. *In Matth.*, XIV, 8 (col. 98); *In Ieremiam*, XXVIII, 10, 11 (col. 855).

²⁰ HILARY, *In CXVIII psalm.*, litt. VI, 1; AMBROSE, *In psalm*. CXVIII, sermo XIV, 11.

Ambrose, use the allegorical method and delight in seeking for a higher meaning, beyond, and at times even outside, the literal sense. The same thing can be said of Zeno of Verona. Victorinus, on the contrary, notwithstanding his original and rather strange explanation of certain passages of Holy Writ, adheres more closely to the text and interprets it from the point of view of the grammarian.²¹ As for St. Jerome, he borrows from Origen the distinction of the three kinds of meaning: the historical, the tropological and the spiritual. The first agrees with the letter, the second sets forth the ethical lesson contained in the text; the third emphasizes, if feasible, the views which this same text presents regarding heaven and the future life.²² While St. Jerome does not claim that the interpreter should always abide by the literal sense only, which indeed at times can give scandal,²³ still he reproves most severely those who "talk nonsense" on the pretext of presenting a tropological or a spiritual interpretation.²⁴

Holy Writ, then, is the first authority that teaches us what we must believe. On the other hand, St. Hilary remarks that those who are outside the Church "cannot have the understanding of the divine word," that in the Church "the word of life has been established."²⁵ St. Ambrose remarks that the finger of the Church points out the faith to us, and that she alone preserves the law of the Lord in its fulness.²⁶ St. Jerome also observes, in the words of the Luciferian whom he approves, that the tradition and custom of the Church can make up for the silence of Scrip-

²¹ *In epist. ad Galatas*, II (col. 1184); *In epist. ad Ephesios*, II, *prooem.* (col. 1273).

²² *Epist.* CXX, 12; *In Amos*, IV, 4 (col. 1027); *In Ezechiel.*, XVI, 31 (col. 147).

²³ *In epist. ad Galat.*, V, 13.

²⁴ *In Isaiam*, XVII, 19; XVIII, 2 (col. 177, 179).

²⁵ *In Matthaeum*, XIII, 1.

²⁶ *In Lucam*, V, 97; *In psalm.* CXVIII, sermo XXII, 33.

ture, as may be seen in many practices.²⁷ Besides, we know from history many well established facts which imply on the part of our authors the deep conviction that the true Church cannot err in her teaching. It is true that the argument drawn from the "Fathers" had not been yet fully formulated, and St. Hilary had come to no definite conclusion as to precisely what constituted the authority of Councils.²⁸ However, St. Jerome opposed to the Pelagians the writings of St. Cyprian, and even those of St. Augustine;²⁹ and all know that St. Hilary looked upon the Nicene definitions as unquestionably true.

But, while the Latin writers of the 4th century thus extol the authority of Scripture and of the Church, they set but little value upon philosophy, at least if taken in the sense of metaphysical speculations. As a general rule, they oppose any meddling of philosophy with the things of faith. St. Hilary reproves positively this interference, when he declares that philosophy is unable to enlighten us.³⁰ St. Ambrose, besides believing that philosophy has borrowed from the Holy Scriptures all the good elements that it may have, charges it with hindering us from finding Christ.³¹ All these Fathers describe it as vain learning, incapable of helping us to live well, richer in words than in deeds. Besides, it had been made useless by the advent of Christ.³² In this consensus of opinion which, coming from these Latin writers of the 4th century, will hardly cause surprise, we must, however, note one exception,—Victorinus.

²⁷ *Dialog. contra luciferianos*, 8.

²⁸ *De synodis*, 86.

²⁹ *Advers. pelag.*, III, 18, 19.

³⁰ *De trinit.*, I, 13; IX, 8; XII, 19.

³¹ *De virginitate*, XIV, 92; *De officiis ministrorum*, I, 133, 179; *Epist.* XXXVII, 28.

³² HILARY, *In CXVIII psalm.*, Prolog., 4; AMBROSE, *In psalm.* XXXVI, 28; JEROME, *In Isaiam*, XLIV, 24 and foll. (col. 439); *In epist. ad Ephes.*, IV, 17 and foll. (col. 504); ZENO, *Tractat.* I, 7, 1.

When living in the midst of paganism, he had been a philosopher, nor did he cease to be one, on becoming a Christian. In the new religion he saw chiefly a consecration of his Neo-platonic ideas, and this is why he was bent exclusively on showing the harmony between his philosophy and his faith. This was an attempt which its very novelty made interesting, and many years were to pass before a similar attempt was made with as much vigor and sincerity.

§ 3. Struggle against Arianism. The Trinitarian Doctrine.

Among the Doctors who defended the Nicene faith during the 4th century, we must naturally make a distinction between those who wrote before its final triumph, and those whose works were either almost co-eval with that triumph or even subsequent to the Council of Constantinople in the year 381. In the first group we must place St. Hilary, Phebadius, Victorinus and Zeno. Of course, this group plays by far the most important part in the history of the struggle against Arianism in the West during the 4th century.

Hilary derives his system from St. Athanasius; Phebadius and Zeno seem to have read Tertullian and to have retained something of that writer; Victorinus belongs to a class by himself, and endeavors rather to explain Christian dogma by reason than prove it from Scripture.

The first move in the refutation of the Arians was to disclaim any connection with Sabellianism, which they said was favored by the orthodox. St. Hilary states carefully the distinction of the Persons: "*Non persona Deus unus est, sed natura.*" "*Non unum subsistentem sed substantiam non differentem.*"⁸³ The Father and the Son are two distinct Persons. Each one of these Persons is perfect in Himself, and although the Son is power, wisdom and glory,

⁸³ *De synodis*, 69, 64; *De trinit.*, I, 16; IV, 20; VII, 2, 32; cf. III, 23; IV, 21, 30, etc.

the Father is also powerful, wise and glorious.³⁴ The second Person is neither made nor created by the first; the Son is begotten, and begotten *ab aeterno*.³⁵

Thus far, Hilary might have agreed, if not with the strict Arians, called also Anomœans, at least with the Homoioussians; but he was to advance still further. The Father and the Son are two distinct persons: how are they but one God? First of all, Hilary answers, because they are absolutely equal; both possess fully the divinity: "*Plenitudo in utroque divinitatis perfecta est. Non enim diminutio Patris est Filius, nec Filius imperfectus a Patre est.*"³⁶ The biblical texts that seem to suggest the Son's inferiority to the Father (*John XIV*, 28) or His ignorance (*Mark XIII*, 32) are not at all conclusive.³⁷ Then, the Father and the Son are but one God, because they have one and the same substance: "*Absolute Pater Deus et Filius Deus unum sunt non unione personae, sed substantiae unitate;*"³⁸ this is expressed by the word ὁμοούσιος (homousion). This term does not mean that the two Persons are identical, or that the divine substance is divided between the two, or that both share in a substance that existed before them; but it does mean that, while remaining distinct, the Son has received from the Father the substance by which He is all that the Father is: "*Sit una substantia ex naturae genitae proprietate, non sit aut ex portione, aut ex unione, aut ex communione.*"³⁹ It has been asserted by some that Hilary understood ὁμοούσιος in the sense of ὁμοιοούσιος, and the unity of substance of the Father and the

³⁴ *De trinitate*, II, 8.

³⁵ *De trinit.*, VI, 23-27; XII, 23-32.

³⁶ *De trinit.*, III, 23; cf. *De synodis*, 73-75.

³⁷ *De trinit.*, IX, 53, 54, 51, 55, 57, 67.

³⁸ *De trinit.*, IV, 42, 40. Notice the opposition of the two words *unio* and *unitas*. Hilary uses always the former, when speaking of the Persons, and the latter, when speaking of the substance.

³⁹ *De synodis*, 71, 67-69, 88.

Son in the sense of a merely specific unity.⁴⁰ This is not true, as what we have just said sufficiently shows.⁴¹ No doubt, Hilary had relations with the Homoiousian party, and was not reluctant to ally himself with it, in order to defeat the Anomœans; for the sake of peace and in view of winning the Homoiousians over, he endeavored to interpret their formulas of faith as favorably as possible, and to show that these formulas were lacking more in logic than in truth; but he never wavered in his own conclusions. In his eyes, one can admit the *ὁμοιούσιος*, rigorously speaking, since in God perfect similarity implies also the unity of substance;⁴² but this expression is ambiguous;⁴³ the Nicene formula is to be preferred, for it shows more clearly the substantial unity of the Father and the Son.⁴⁴

Hilary's doctrine is met with in the writings of Phebadius, with this slight difference, however, that the latter, who never came in contact with the Orientals, clings more closely to the strict Latin declarations: "*Tenenda est igitur, ut diximus, regula quae Filium in Patre et Patrem in Filio confitetur; quae unam in duabus personis substantiam servans, dispositionem divinitatis agnoscit.*"⁴⁵ This "dispositio divinitatis" comes from Tertullian. What follows is still more precise: "*Pater et Filius etsi duae personae creduntur, ratione tamen et substantia unus sunt.*"⁴⁶

⁴⁰ See GUMMERUS, *Die homoüsianische Partei bis zum Tode des Konstantius*, Leipzig, 1900.

⁴¹ See also *De trinit.*, VII, 41, where the whole reasoning about circumincession supposes evidently the numerical identity of the divine substance in the Father and in the Son.

⁴² *De synodis*, 72-77.

⁴³ *De synodis*, 89.

⁴⁴ See the refutation of Gummerus by G. RASNEUR, *L'homoiousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie*, in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, IV, p. 411 and foll., 1903.

⁴⁵ *Liber contra arianos*, 22, col. 30.

⁴⁶ *De filiï divinit.*, 7, col. 44.

Thus the *ὁμοούσιος* is vigorously maintained; ⁴⁷ the Son's absolute eternity is upheld, and any form of temporal generation is excluded from Him; ⁴⁸ also the Father and the Son are proclaimed perfectly equal: "*Totum Patri ascribimus quod est Filius, et totum Filio quod Pater est.*" ⁴⁹ "*Quid est enim Filius de eo quod Pater est? Alius idem.*" ⁵⁰ Finally, Phebadius concludes from this that, if — as he admits — the Word manifested Himself in the Old Testament theophanies, yet He did not make His substance visible; He was visible only through the external forms which He had assumed momentarily. ⁵¹

Zeno too had read Tertullian; but at times he failed to correct the views of his master, and took from him, on the subject of the Trinity, several theories which we are surprised to meet in the second half of the 4th century. The Bishop of Verona, it is true, proclaims the unity of substance of the Father and of the Son. They are like two seas filled with the same water. While remaining what He was, the Father has reproduced Himself in the Son; ⁵² Zeno proclaims also their equality: "*O sancta aequalitas ac sibi soli dignissima individuae deitatis. . . . Deus in alio se inferior esse quemadmodum potest; quidquid enim uni ex duobus indiscrete in omnibus sibimet simulantibus detraxeris, cui detraxeris nescis.*" ⁵³ But, when he begins to speak of the eternal birth of the Word, his mind becomes uncertain. He resumes the apologists' theories of the two-fold state of the Logos,—first dwelling in the bosom of

⁴⁷ *De filii divinit.*, 2-5.

⁴⁸ *Liber contra arian.*, 16; *De filii divinit.*, 2, col. 36.

⁴⁹ *De filii divinit.*, 7, col. 44; 6, col. 43; *Libellus fidei*, col. 49.

⁵⁰ *De filii divinit.*, 6, col. 42.

⁵¹ *Lib. contra arian.* 17, col. 26; *De filii divinit.*, 8, cols. 45-47.

⁵² II, 2 (cols. 391, 392); I, 1, 1; II, 3; II, 5, 1.

⁵³ II, 1, 1; II, 3; II, 5, 1; 6, 3, 4. See, however, II, 5, 1 (col. 400), where the author seems to refer neither to the Incarnation nor to the theophanies.

the Father and being almost a mere attribute of the Father; and next, being uttered for the purpose of the creation and acquiring then His full personality.⁵⁴ These antiquated theories set us back two centuries.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the way in which St. Ambrose, Faustinus and Niceta treat this subject of the relations between the Father and the Son. To do so, would be to repeat what we have said in connection with Hilary and Phebadius.⁵⁵ For it may be observed that, although St. Ambrose was one of St. Augustine's teachers, he was much nearer than his illustrious pupil, to the Greek conception of the Trinity. For the Bishop of Milan, the Father is always understood first, since He is the root and source of the Son and of the whole Trinity: "*Fons Pater Filii est, quia radix Pater Filii est.*"⁵⁶ The Son is Son, because He was begotten; He is Word, because He was uttered: "*Ex utero generavit ut Filium; ex corde eructavit ut Verbum.*"⁵⁷ He was begotten and uttered neither by an act of the Father's freewill, nor through a constraint properly so called, but through a necessity of nature, superior both to constraint and to an act of freewill.⁵⁸ We may come now to Victorinus, and examine the fresh contributions which he brings to the question before us.

⁵⁴ "Principium, fratres dilectissimi, Dominus noster incunctanter est Christus, quem ante omnia saecula pater in profundo suae sacrae mentis arcano insuspicabili ac soli sibi nota conscientia, Filii non sine affectu, sed sine revelamine amplectebatur. . . . Procedit in nativitatem qui erat, antequam nasceretur in Patre, aequalis in omnibus" (II, 3; II, 4; II, 5, 1). See, however, II, 2, col. 392 and even II, 3.

⁵⁵ For St. Ambrose, see chiefly the *De fide ad Gratianum augustum*, written in 378-380, and the *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*, composed probably in 382 (*P. L.*, XVI); for Faustinus, his treatise *De trinitate* (about 384) and his *Fides Theodosio imperatori oblata* (*P. L.*, XIII); for Niceta, the *Libelli instructionis*, *Libellus tertius*, I, *De ratione fidei*, edit. Burn, p. 10 et seq.

⁵⁶ *De fide*, IV, 10, 132.

⁵⁷ *De virginibus*, III, I, 3.

⁵⁸ *De fide*, IV, 9, 103.

Victorinus was led to write on this question by the objections against the Nicene doctrine which an Arian, named Candidus, proposed to him. In his *Liber de generatione divina*, 1-7,⁵⁹ Candidus raised the objection that we cannot think of any generation in God: it would be opposed to His immutability, since it implies a change (*mutatio*); it would be opposed also to His simplicity, because it implies a division, a separation. On the other hand, a begotten Word could not be God, since He would have passed from one state to another; nor could He be consubstantial with the Father: "*Ex quibus apparet quoniam neque consubstantiale est quod generatur, neque sine conversione generatio a Deo.*"⁶⁰

While acknowledging how difficult it is to treat of the things divine, Victorinus tries to solve the difficulties, by means of philosophy.⁶¹ First he remarks that, whereas it is true that every action implies a motion: "*Facere nonne motus est?*", it is *not* true that every motion implies a change, a *mutatio*.⁶² From all eternity God is in action, in motion. In fact He is always moving.⁶³ This motion is a production, a creation as regards contingent beings; but as regards the Word, it is a generation, and a generation which, like the motion of which it is the term, is eternal, because the Word, having been the instrument for creation, has preëxisted before all creatures.⁶⁴ True, Victorinus makes use now and then of some incorrect expressions: the

⁵⁹ *P. L.*, VIII, col. 1013-1017.

⁶⁰ *Loc. cit.*, 7, col. 1017 A.

⁶¹ *De generatione Verbi divini*, I, 28, col. 1033 C, 1034 A; *Adv. Arium*, II, 3, col. 1091 A.

⁶² *De generat. Verbi divini*, 30, col. 1035 A.

⁶³ "*Est enim movere ibi et moveri ipsum quod est esse, simul et ipsum*" (*Adv. Arium*, I, 43, col. 1074 A).

⁶⁴ *De generat. Verbi divini*, 29, 30, col. 1034, 1035 A B.

Father is *antiquior*, the Son *junior*; the Father has created the Logos;⁶⁵ but his meaning cannot be misunderstood. The Word is eternal and consubstantial with the Father: “Ὁμοούσιον *ergo et filius et pater, et semper ita, et ex aeterno et in aeternum.*”⁶⁶ The Father and the Son are something that is one and simple: “*Unum ergo et simplex ista duo.*”⁶⁷

This conclusion can be safely inferred from what Victorinus says of the relations between the Father and the Son.

The Son is the term of the Father's will, or rather His will in action: “*Pater ergo cuius est voluntas, filius autem voluntas est, et voluntas ipse est λόγος.*” Every will is, so to speak, a child; hence the λόγος is Son: “*Omnis enim voluntas progenies est . . . λόγος ergo filius;*” and as God reaches all by one will, there is but one Son; besides as this Son proceeds by the will, He is “*non a necessitate naturae sed voluntate magnitudinis Patris*”: which does not mean, however, that this generation is free, but that it has the will for its principle.⁶⁸

Just as the Son is the Father's will in action, so likewise He is the term of the Father's knowledge, or rather the image by which the Father knows Himself: “*Est autem lumini et spiritui imago . . . filius ergo in patre imago et forma et λόγος.*”⁶⁹ From this it follows, on one hand, that the Word is distinct from the Father, as the image is distinct from the subject knowing; but on the other hand, that

⁶⁵ *Adv. Arium*, I, 20, col. 1053 D; *Hymn.*, III, col. 1144.

⁶⁶ *Adv. Arium*, I, 34, col. 1067 C, 31; IV, 21, col. 1128; I, 1, col. 1039 D; I, 30; *De generat. Verbi divini*, I, col. 1019 D; *De ὁμοουσίῳ recipiendo*, 2, col. 1138; *Hymn.*, I, col. 1141 C.

⁶⁷ *De generatione Verbi divini*, 22.

⁶⁸ *Adv. Arium*, I, 31, col. 1064 A B; *In epist. ad Ephes.*, I, 1, col. 1236 B C.

⁶⁹ *Adv. Arium*, I, 31, col. 1064 A; 57, col. 1083, 1084.

He is identical with the Father, because in Him the Father is represented to Himself. There is "*alteritas nata*," which, however, "*cito in identitatem revenit*."⁷⁰

Then plunging boldly into the Neo-platonic theory of God and His relations with the world, Victorinus represents the relations between the Father and the Son as very similar to those which exist between the One and the *νοῦς* in the philosophy of Plotinus. The Father is the absolute, the unconditioned, the transcendent being, who seems to have no attribute, no determination whatever, the unknowable and invisible being; whereas the Son is that through which the Father conditions Himself, defines Himself, determines Himself, limits Himself, as it were, enters into relations with the finite, becomes knowable and falls within our grasp. The Father is the substance, the Son is rather the life; the Father is the *super-being*, the Son is the being simply.

Deus quod est esse, id est vivere, incognitus et indiscretus est et eius forma, id est vitae intellegentia incognita et indiscreta est. . . . Cum autem foris esse coeperit, tunc forma apparens imago Dei est, Deum per semet ostendens; et est λόγος, non iam inde πρὸς τὸν θεὸν λόγος, in qua vita et intellegentia, iam ὄν; quia certa cognitio est, existentia quae intellectu et cognitione capitur.⁷¹—Pater ergo et magis principalis vita motionem requiescentem habens in abscondito et intus se moventem: Filius autem in manifesto motio, et ideo filius quoniam ab eo quod est intus processit.⁷²—Hic est Deus supra νοῦν, super veritatem, omnipotens potentia, et idcirco non forma; νοῦς autem et veritas et forma, sed non ut inhaerens alteri inseparabilis forma, sed ut inseparabiliter annexa ad declarationem potentiae Dei patris eadem substantia vel imago vel forma. . . . Si silentium Deus est, Verbum dicitur; si cessatio, motus; si essentia, vita. . . . Ergo ista essentia, silentium, cessatio Pa-

⁷⁰ *Adv. Arium*, I, 57, col. 1084 A.

⁷¹ *Adv. Arium*, IV, 20, col. 1128 A.

⁷² *Adv. Arium*, I, 42, col. 1073 A.

ter, hoc est Deus pater. At vero vita, Verbum, motus aut actio filius et unicus filius.⁷³—Deus ergo est totum *πρόον*: Iesus autem ipsum hoc totum *ὅν*.⁷⁴—Verum esse primum ita imparticipatum est ut nec unum dici possit nec solum, ultra simplicitatem, praeexistentiam potius quam existentiam, universalium omnium universale, infinitum interminatum, sed aliis omnibus, non sibi, et idcirco sine forma intellectu quodam auditur. . . . Hoc illud est quod diximus vivere vel vivit, illud infinitum, illud quod supra universalium omnium vivere, est ipsum esse, ipsum vivere, non aut aliquid esse, aut aliquid vivere unde nec *ὅν*. Certum enim etiam quiddam est *ὅν*, intelligibile, cognoscibile. Ergo si non *ὅν* nec *λόγος*, *λόγος* enim definitus est et definitur.⁷⁵

We can say, then, in a general way, that, according to Victorinus, the Word is the actuation of the active power which the Father is; and thus it is true, in one sense, that the Word is inferior to the Father, because He withdraws Him from a state of transcendence, and brings Him more closely to the finite and because too He receives life from Him.⁷⁶ Hence the Word is both inferior and equal to the Father; equal, because the Father has given to the Son everything,—His substance and dignity; inferior, because the Son holds everything from the Father, as from His beginning.⁷⁷ As is evident, the subordinationism taught by Victorinus involves, not the nature of the Word, but His person; it is a consequence of His sonship.

The disputes which were going on in the East concerning the Holy Ghost could not fail to attract the notice of the Latin writers of the 4th century. Niceta has left us a

⁷³ *Adv. Arium*, III, 7, col. 1103, 1104.

⁷⁴ *De generatione Verbi div.*, 2, col. 1021 A.

⁷⁵ *Adv. Arium*, IV, 19, col. 1127 B; and cf. IV, 23, col. 1129, 1130; III, 11, col. 1107 A B.

⁷⁶ *Adv. Arium*, I, 42, col. 1073 A; *In epist. ad Philipp.*, III, 20, col. 1227 A B.

⁷⁷ *Adv. Arium*, I, 13, col. 1047 C D.

treatise *De Spiritu Sancti potentia*, which is a part of his *Libelli instructionis*; and St. Ambrose, a treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*, which appeared in the year 381. As to St. Jerome, when he was entreated to write on the subject, he preferred to give a slightly retouched translation of the work of Didymus, already mentioned.⁷⁸ Of all the Latin Fathers of the 4th century, St. Hilary is the only one who does not call the Holy Spirit expressly God, evidently in order not to give offence to the Semi-Arians; nevertheless, he declares that the Holy Ghost is not a creature, that He is not foreign to the divine nature, that He is of the same substance as the Father and the Son.⁷⁹ Phebadius,⁸⁰ Zeno,⁸¹ Faustinus,⁸² and Niceta⁸³ use the same language, though more explicitly. As to Victorinus, while he seems at times, because of the indefiniteness of the word *spiritus*, to identify the Holy Ghost with the Son, at times also he makes between them the same distinction as that which exists between intelligence and life, or between an articulate sound and the mouth by which it is uttered. He says that the Son and the Holy Ghost are two, although, together with the Father, they have the same essence: "*Est enim Pater loquens silentium, Christus vox, Paracletus, vox vocis.*"⁸⁴ "*Vivere quidem Christus, intellegere Spiritus.*"⁸⁵ "*Una substantia tribus a substantia Patris: ὁμοούσια ergo tria, hoc est simul οὐσία . . . ergo ὁμοούσιοι sunt, unam et eandem substantiam habentes.*"⁸⁶

⁷⁸ P. 91.

⁷⁹ *De trinit.*, I, 36; II, 4; XII, 55.

⁸⁰ *Libellus fidei*, col. 49; *De filii divinitate*, II, col. 49.

⁸¹ *Tract.* I, 1, 5 (col. 268); II, 13, 1.

⁸² *De trinit.*, VII, 1; *Fides Theodos. imper. obl.*, col. 80.

⁸³ *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18.

⁸⁴ *Adv. Arium*, IV, 16, col. 1111 C; I, 13, col. 1048 A.

⁸⁵ *Adv. Arium*, I, 13, col. 1048 B; cf. III, 4, 5.

⁸⁶ *Adv. Arium*, I, 16, col. 1050 B C; 8, col. 1044 C; 12, col. 1046 D; etc.

There remains the question of the origin of the Holy Ghost. Since Tertullian, the formula, *A Patre per Filium*, had remained the doctrinal standard of the West as well as of the East; but it was susceptible of various interpretations. One might look upon the Son as a sort of medium through which the Father's substance is communicated to the Holy Spirit, or again might represent the Son as a true and active principle which, together with the Father, produces the Holy Spirit. The latter meaning is the one chosen by Latin theologians. They are prompted to this choice by the text of *St. John* XVI, 15. However, they are at first afraid to say that the Holy Ghost *proceeds* from the Son, because the Gospel does not use this expression. Thus, for instance, after writing that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son His nature itself and all that the Son has received from the Father, St. Hilary asks whether to receive from the Father is the same act as to *proceed* from the Father. He does not dare to answer the question; however, he observes that, at any rate, in receiving from the Son, the Holy Ghost receives also from the Father, because whatever the Son gives to the Holy Ghost, comes to Him from the Father.⁸⁷ The Holy Ghost, then, is "*res naturae Filii, sed eadem res et naturae Patris est.*"⁸⁸ From this St. Hilary concludes that the Holy Ghost is from the Father through the Son: "*Quod ex te per eum (Filium) Sanctus Spiritus tuus est, etsi sensu quidem non percipiam, sed tamen teneo conscientia.*"⁸⁹ The same doctrine, without the precise word, is met with in Phebadius: "*Misit nobis (Filius) Spiritum Sanctum de propria sua et ipsa una substantia sua. . . . De meo, inquit, accipiet (Joan. XVI, 15); ex eo utique quod est Filius, quia et Filius de eo quod Pater est.*"⁹⁰ This reserve is also noticed in St. Am-

⁸⁷ *De trinit.*, VIII, 20.

⁸⁸ *De trinit.*, VIII, 26.

⁸⁹ *De trinit.*, XII, 56; cf. 55, 57.

⁹⁰ *De filii divinit.*, II, col. 49.

brose,⁹¹ although he declares most expressly that the Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit: "*Quae Filio incognita putas, ea de Filio Spiritus sanctus accepit. Accepit autem per unitatem substantiae, sicut a Patre Filius.*"⁹²—"Eo quod apud te. . . . Deus omnipotens, Filius tuus fons vitae sit, hoc est fons Spiritus sancti, quia Spiritus vita est."⁹³ Finally, we find the same teaching in Victorinus. By one motion, *uno motu*, he says, the Father produces the Son and the Holy Ghost: "*Unus motus utrumque in existentiam protulit*"; but as, by this motion, the Father has imparted to the Son all that He has—even the power to communicate Himself,—the Son in his turn has imparted it to the Holy Ghost: "*Et quia quae habet Pater filio dedit omnia, ideo et filius qui motus est, dedit omnia Spiritui sancto.*"⁹⁴ In this way, the Father always remains the primary source, and it is true, in one sense, that it is not the Son, but the Father who gives; however, the Son also gives and produces, though as a subordinate principle: "*Sicuti enim a gremio patris et in gremio filius, sic a ventre filii Spiritus.*"⁹⁵

The function of the Holy Ghost in the interior life of God is to serve as the bond between the two other Persons. This idea of Zeno of Verona⁹⁶ is strongly emphasized by Victorinus. The Holy Ghost is "*patris et filii copula*": "*Primo connectis duo, esque ipsa tertia complexio duorum.*"⁹⁷ With Him the Trinity is complete. The Latin formula which expresses this mystery continues to be that left by Tertullian: *una substantia, tres personae*: "*Tres personas*

⁹¹ It is true St. Ambrose uses the word *procedere*, but only to signify the mission *ad extra* of the Holy Ghost by the Son; for instance *De Spiritu Sancto*, I, 119, 120.

⁹² *De Spir. Sancto*, II, 118.

⁹³ *De Spir. Sancto*, I, 152.

⁹⁴ *Adv. Arium*, III, 8, col. 1105 A B.

⁹⁵ *Adv. Arium*, I, 8, col. 1044 C; 12, col. 1047 B.

⁹⁶ *Tract.* II, 2, col. 392.

⁹⁷ *Hymn.*, I, col. 1139 D; III, col. 1146 B.

unius substantiae et unius divinitatis confitentes,"⁹⁸ persons who have but one energy, one operation, one will, one power, as they have but one substance.⁹⁹ St. Jerome discards the Cappadocian formula, three *hypostases*, which, he thinks, smacks of Arianism. In his mind, the word *hypostasis* is the same as *essence*.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, Victorinus would prefer the word *subsistence* to the word *person*: "*Dictum de una substantia tres subsistentias esse, ut ipsum quod est esse subsistat tripliciter, ipse Deus et Christus, id est λόγος, et Spiritus sanctus.*"¹⁰¹ These three subsistences are in one another through circumincession: "*uterque in utroque — omnes in alternis existentes.*"¹⁰² They are mutually related in the same way as being, life and intelligence are related: life, that is the Son, is a mere form of being, which is the Father, just as intelligence, that is the Holy Ghost, is a mere form of life, which is the Son.¹⁰³ In his mighty endeavor to reduce the articles of faith regarding the Trinity to the more general categories of ontology, Victorinus shows himself to be the precursor, not only of St. Augustine, but of the boldest schoolmen.

§ 4. Creation. Angelology.

Victorinus displays in his theory of creation the same Neo-platonism which is evinced in his Trinitarian teaching. The essences of things exist potentially in God who begets them, and more particularly in the Logos, in whom every

⁹⁸ PHEBADIUS, *De filii divinit.*, II, col. 50.

⁹⁹ AMBROSE, *De fide*, IV, 91; V, 134; *De Spir. Sancto*, III, 20; *Apologia proph. David*, 71; *In Lucam*, V, 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Epist.* XV, 3, 4.

¹⁰¹ *Adv. Arium*, II, 4, col. 1092 D; I, 41, col. 1072 A; III, 4, col. 1101 D.

¹⁰² *Adv. Arium*, I, 15, col. 1050 A; 16, col. 1050 C; cf. HILARY, *De trinit.*, II, 4; VII, 41; IX, 51; ZENO, *Tract.* II, 1, 2; II, 2, col. 392; II, 5, 1.

¹⁰³ *Adv. Arium*, I, 13, col. 1048 B; 63, col. 1087 C D; III, 7-9, col. 1103-1105; IV, 21, col. 1128 D.

being is embodied: "*Semen est, et velut elementum omnium quae sunt.*" "*Insubstantiata enim sunt omnia ὄντα in Iesu, hoc est ἐν τῷ λόγῳ.*"¹⁰⁴ The Word it is who makes essences exist and is the organ of creation.¹⁰⁵ And this creation is represented more as a sort of emanation. The fulness of life which has been poured first by the Father into the Word overflows into creatures and adapts itself to the diverse beings that receive it.¹⁰⁶ The scale of beings is as follows: "*Catena enim Deus, Iesus, Spiritus, νοῦς, anima, angeli et deinde corporalia omnia subministrata.*"¹⁰⁷ We may notice that *νοῦς* and *anima* are placed before the angels, and that the *νοῦς* is distinguished from the *anima*. The soul is not the *νοῦς*; it merely receives it.¹⁰⁸ As to matter, it is *μὴ ὄν*: it becomes something merely through the soul by which it is vivified.¹⁰⁹ We need not remark that, except what he says of the Word as being the Creator, and of matter as being nothing in itself, the whole theory of Victorinus regarding creation is peculiar to himself.

Angels to whom he assigns a rank in the scale of creatures did not come within the scope of his theology; but other Latin writers of the same epoch, especially Hilary, Ambrose and Jerome devoted their attention to them. According to the last two writers, angels were created before the material world.¹¹⁰ St. Jerome says nothing definite regarding their nature; however, when

¹⁰⁴ *Adv. Arium*, I, 25, col. 1059 A; 26, col. 1059 B; III, 3, col. 1100 C; IV, 4, col. 1116 C.

¹⁰⁵ *Adv. Arium*, I, 33, col. 1066 C; 22, col. 1056 B C; *In epist. ad Ephes.*, I, 9, col. 1266 A.

¹⁰⁶ *Adv. Arium*, I, 24, col. 1057 D; 25, col. 1058 D, 1059 A B; 47, col. 1077 A B; III, 3, col. 1100 B C; IV, 31, col. 1135 C D.

¹⁰⁷ *Adv. Arium*, I, 25, col. 1059 B.

¹⁰⁸ *In epist. ad Ephes.*, I, 4, col. 1239 B C.

¹⁰⁹ *De generat. Verbi div.*, 10, col. 1026.

¹¹⁰ AMBROSE, *De incarnat. domin. sacramento*, 16; JEROME, *In epist. ad Titum*, I, 2 seq., col. 560; cf. *Epist. XVIII*, 7.

explaining their fall by a sin of pride,¹¹¹ he discards the argument which inferred their corporeal nature from *Gen.* VI, 1, 2. On the contrary, the same argument made the opinion of St. Hilary and St. Ambrose uncertain. Both seem at times to look upon the angels as bodiless, *spirituales* and *incorporales*;¹¹² however, the former records the tradition according to which the sons of God, mentioned in *Gen.* VI, 1, 2, are the angels;¹¹³ and the latter ascribes unhesitatingly the fall of the angels to their unchastity, although he expresses elsewhere the idea that the "sons of God" are the just, and that Satan first fell through pride.¹¹⁴

St. Jerome explains by their different merits the differences which exist among the angels, as well as their various orders: orders of which we cannot know the exact number and degrees.¹¹⁵ Previous to St. Gregory, the Latins paid hardly any attention to this very abstruse problem. On the other hand, the authors of the 4th century dwell more readily on the helps which we receive from the good angels. Not only each nation, church and particular community is protected by an angel, but each one of us has his guardian Angel "*qui unicuique adhaeret comes.*" These angels intercede for us and cover us with their protection.¹¹⁶ St. Jerome even thought that an account would be demanded of the angels placed over aggregations of individuals, and that they would be submitted

¹¹¹ *In Ezechiel*, XXVIII, 16.

¹¹² HILARY, *In psalm.* CXXXVII, 5; AMBROSE, *In Lucam*, VII, 126.

¹¹³ *In psalm.* CXXXIII, 6.

¹¹⁴ *De virginibus*, I, 8, 53; *Apologia proph. David*, I, 4; *De Noe et arca*, IV, 8; *In psalm.* CXVIII, sermo IV, 8; sermo VII, 8; sermo XVI, 15.

¹¹⁵ *Apol. adv. libros Rufini*, I, 23; *Adv. Iovinianum*, II, 28; *In epist. ad Ephes.*, I, 21.

¹¹⁶ JEROME, *Commentar. in Ecclesiasten*, P. L., XXXIII, 1053; *In Daniel.*, VII, c; *In Mich.*, VI, 1; HILARY, *In psalm.* LXV, 13; CXX, 4; CXXIV, 5; CXXIX, 7; CXXXIII, 6; CXXXIV, 17; *In Matth.*, XVIII, 5; AMBROSE, *In psalm.* CXVIII, sermo VII, 36; *In Lucam*, VII, 210, etc.

to a judgment, which would bear on the exact fulfilment of their functions.¹¹⁷

§ 5. Man. The Primitive Fall. Grace. Merit.

While they were little inclined to merely speculative problems, the Latin theologians of the 4th century took up more readily the study of man, of his condition and needs in the Christian economy. It is of the utmost importance for the historian to know what were their views on this subject, on the eve of the controversy between St. Augustine and Pelagius.

St. Hilary, St. Ambrose and St. Jerome are both dichotomists and creationists. According to them, man is made up of two elements only, and the human soul has been created.¹¹⁸ This soul is spiritual, immortal and spread throughout the whole body, although it is found especially in a particular place.¹¹⁹ Zeno of Verona does not seem to distinguish this natural immortality from the immortality of bliss or of chastisement which one deserves according as he practises virtue or commits sin.¹²⁰ On the other hand, there are in the early writings of St. Jerome several passages in which, under Origen's influence, he apparently favors the preëxistence of souls:¹²¹ a view which he gave up afterwards, as is well known. Victorinus seems also to have entertained the same mistaken idea. With the other

¹¹⁷ *In Michaeam*, VI, 1, 2.

¹¹⁸ HILARY, *In psalm*. CXXIV, 4; *De trinit.*, X, 22; AMBROSE, *De Isaac et anima*, 3, 4; *De Noe et arca*, 9; JEROME, *In Daniel.*, III, 39; *Contra Ioannem hierosol.*, 22; *Apol. adv. libros Rufini*, III, 28; *Epist.* CXX, 12; cf. *Epist.* CXXVI, 1.

¹¹⁹ HILARY, *In psalm*. CXXXIX, 4-6; CXVIII, litt. XIX, 8; LXII, 3; LXIII, 9; AMBROSE, *De bono mortis*, 38; *In psalm*. CXVIII, sermo IX, 15; *De Cain et Abel*, II, 36. However St. Ambrose distinguishes in the soul two parts, as it were: one, animal, the other, spiritual (*De Noe et arca*, 92).

¹²⁰ *Tract.* I, 12, 4.

¹²¹ *In epist. ad Ephesios*, I, 4, 5, 12, 15 and foll.

Latin writers he says that man is made up of two elements, *ex corpore et anima*; however he finds in man two souls: one, which is closely connected with matter, is hylic and animal and has within itself its hylic *voûs* of a similar substance; the other which was breathed by God into Adam, is heavenly, divine and has within itself its divine and heavenly *voûs*. This heavenly soul is contained in the hylic soul, just as the hylic soul is contained in the body.¹²² Furthermore, all these souls, at least those which are heavenly, have pre-existed, not merely potentially, but in some real way, *substantialiter*. The present world was created specially that therein they might be tried and confirmed and thus become purely spiritual.¹²³

What was the primitive condition of Adam and Eve? St. Hilary supposes that they were immortal, since death is the consequence of sin.¹²⁴ St. Ambrose and Zeno go still further. They not only ascribe to our first parents wisdom, virtue and exemption from concupiscence;¹²⁵ they seem to believe also that Adam and Eve were heavenly and similar to the angels and consequently needed no food.¹²⁶

According to Zeno, their fall resulted from a sin of lust;¹²⁷ according to St. Ambrose, it was due to a sin of which pride was the origin.¹²⁸ They were condemned to die, and made subject to concupiscence and to the miseries of life. All agree that, like an inheritance, their chastisement falls upon us. Hilary declares that Adam has trans-

¹²² *Adv. Arium*, I, 62, col. 1086 D, 1087 A B.

¹²³ *In epist. ad Ephesios*, I, 4, Col. 1241 D, 1242 A B.

¹²⁴ *In psalm*. LIX, 4.

¹²⁵ ZENO, *Tract.* I, 12, 2; AMBROSE, *De paradiso*, 24, 63; *Epist.* LVIII, 12.

¹²⁶ ZENO, *Tract.* I, 16, 12; AMBROSE, *De paradiso*, 42; *In psalm*. CXVIII, sermo XV, 36.

¹²⁷ *Tract.* I, 13, 5; I, 2, 8.

¹²⁸ *In psalm*. CXVIII, sermo VII, 8; *Epist.* LXXIII, 5.

mitted to us his sentence of death and the dismal condition of his existence; concupiscence with which we are assailed is a consequence of our nature, but also of our birth "*sub peccati origine et sub peccati lege*"; owing to the sin of Adam, we are spiritually captive; sin is the father of our bodies, and infidelity, the mother of our souls.¹²⁹ Similar statements are found in Zeno,¹³⁰ St. Ambrose,¹³¹ St. Jerome¹³² and the Ambrosiaster.¹³³ But, while these authors admit our physical and moral fall in Adam, do they hold that there exists also in us real sin? Do they believe that the fact of being the children of Adam, causes us to be born actually stained with guilt? This is, properly speaking, the problem of original sin.

We may pass over the theory of Victorinus who appeals to the imperfect, nay to the evil character of matter, in order to account for the stain which souls receive, when they are introduced into the material world.¹³⁴ True, Victorinus strives to correct this Gnostic and fatalistic concept of original sin, by stating, against the Manicheans, that man is not naturally bad, and that evil is due to the free choice of the soul.¹³⁵ However, it remains true that he was led astray by his Origenist and Neo-platonic reminiscences. St. Hilary says, in a general way, that we have all erred in Adam, because he contained us all: "*In unius Adæ errore omne hominum genus aberravit.*"¹³⁶ St. Pacian declares that "the sin (*peccatum*) of Adam has justly passed

¹²⁹ *In psalm.* LIX, 4; I, 4; CXXVI, 13; CXVIII, litt. XXII, 6; CXXXVI, 5; *In Matth.*, X, 23.

¹³⁰ *Tract.* I, 12, 2.

¹³¹ *In Lucam*, VII, 234; *De mysteriis*, 32; *In psalm.* XLVIII, 8-10; LXIII, 75; *Epist.* XLI, 7; etc.

¹³² For instance, *In Ionam*, III, 5.

¹³³ *In epist. ad Romanos*, V, 12.

¹³⁴ *Adv. Arium*, I, 26, col. 1060 A; *In epist. ad Ephes.*, I, 7, col.

1243 C.

¹³⁵ *Ad Iustinum manich.*, 16, col. 1008 B.

¹³⁶ *In Matth.*, XVIII, 6; cf. X, 24.

over to his descendants, because they have been begotten of him.”¹³⁷ Again, it is beyond question that St. Ambrose, whose views must be interpreted with the utmost care, conceives as concupiscence the *haereditaria peccata* and the *iniquitas calcanei*, of which he speaks in his *De mysteriis*, VI, 32, and in his commentary on *Psalm XLVIII*, 9-10; but elsewhere he goes apparently much further: “*Lapsus sum in Adam, de paradiso eiectus in Adam, mortuus in Adam; quomodo revocet, nisi me in Adam invenerit, ut in illo culpa obnoxium, morti debitum, ita in Christo iustificatum.*”¹³⁸ Here the Saint affirms that every man shares not merely in Adam’s punishment, but also in his sin: *lapsus sum, culpa obnoxium*; and elsewhere: “*Antequam nascamur, maculamur contagio; et ante usuram lucis, originis ipsius excipimus iniuriam, in iniquitate concipimur: non expressit utrum parentum an nostra. Et in delictis generat unumquemque mater sua, nec hic declaravit utrum in delictis suis mater pariat, an iam sint et aliqua delicta nascentis. Sed vide ne utrumque intellegendum sit. Nec conceptus iniquitatis exsors est, quoniam et parentes non carent lapsu. Et si nec unius diei infans sine peccato est, multo magis nec illi materni conceptus dies sine peccato sunt.*”¹³⁹ It would be difficult, I think, to imagine a doctrine more like that of St. Augustine than this of St. Ambrose.

Furthermore, we find in the writings of that period an anticipation not merely of St. Augustine’s doctrine, but also of his language, as may be seen from the following instances. The Ambrosiaster comments upon the 12th verse of the 5th chapter of the *Epistle to the Romans*, as follows: “*In quo, id est in Adam, omnes peccaverunt. Ideo dixit in quo cum de muliere loquatur, quia non ad speciem retulit*

¹³⁷ *Sermo de baptismo*, 6; cf. 1, 2, 5. It may be that here concupiscence only is referred to.

¹³⁸ *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*, II, 6.

¹³⁹ *Apologia proph. David*, 56.

sed ad genus. Manifestum itaque in Adam omnes peccasse quasi in massa; ipsa enim per peccatum correptus, quos genuit, omnes nati sunt sub peccato. Ex eo igitur cuncti peccatores, quia ex eo ipso sumus omnes." The reader will notice that, in this text, the words ἐφ' ᾧ are translated *in quo*: St. Augustine adopts the same translation and speaks also of the *massa perditionis*. True, the Ambrosiaster adds that, whereas the first death is inflicted upon us in consequence of Adam's sin, the second death — hell — will be inflicted upon us only for our own sins; but he declares also that the curse which, at the beginning, excluded Adam from heaven, has been extended to all men. Hence, if taken by itself, original sin does not cast us into hell, at least it keeps us exiled from heaven.

The Ambrosiaster wrote under Damasus (366–384).¹⁴⁰ After him, and before St. Augustine, we find no document that is more explicit than his work on the doctrine of original sin. St. Jerome expresses clearly this doctrine at the end of his dialogue against the Pelagians, III, 18; but this dialogue dates from the close of the year 415, and consequently is posterior to the earliest anti-Pelagian writings of the Bishop of Hippo, of which it speaks in terms of praise.

The primitive fall has not done away with our liberty, and sin is our own work. Yet we can hardly avoid it, and even though flesh is not the responsible source of a disorder which is willed by the soul, but only its organ, still it coöperates with iniquity.¹⁴¹ Without grace, we cannot be saved. The writers now before us do not seem to demand this supernatural or *medicinal* grace for the fulfilment of all the works that are simply morally good; still less do

¹⁴⁰ It must be remarked that the work has been interpolated.

¹⁴¹ HILARY, *In Matth.*, X, 23; *In psalm.* LXVIII, 9; AMBROSE, *Apologia proph. David*, 24, 15–19; *In psalm.* I, 22; *De Abraham*, II, 81; *Hexameron*, I, 31; *De Iacob et vita beata*, I, 10; *De paenitentia*, I, 73.

they seem to look upon the works performed outside the Law as sinful. Thus St. Jerome thinks that, outside Christianity, one may live uprightly; he even thinks that this rectitude prepares one for the reception of faith.¹⁴² So, St. Ambrose does not reject the natural virtues of the heathen; however, he declares that these virtues are useless, and that those who practise them are similar to the trees that are covered with leaves, and bear no fruit.¹⁴³ But, when these Fathers come to treat of supernatural and meritorious works, then they speak quite differently. Hilary, Victorinus, Ambrose and Jerome agree in affirming that, without grace, we cannot perform any work conducive to salvation and pleasing to God.¹⁴⁴ "*Adiuvandi igitur per gratiam eius, dirigendique sumus, ut praeceptorum iustificationum ordinem consequamur. . . . Quanta opus est nobis Dei gratia ut recte sapiamus, ut . . . ad universas Dei iustificationes aequa ac pari operum ac doctrinae observantia dirigamur.*"¹⁴⁵ . . . *Video itaque quia ubique Domini virtus studiis cooperatur humanis; ut nemo possit aedificare sine Domino, nemo custodire sine Domino, nemo quidquam incipere sine Domino.*"¹⁴⁶ Nay, Victorinus and Jerome observe that the act itself by which we will what is right, is the work of God and is wrought through the influence of grace. The language of Victorinus is worth noticing:

Sic enim dixit *Salutem vestram operamini*. Sed rursus ne unusquisque parum gratiam Deo referat, si ipse sibi salutem

¹⁴² *In epist. ad Galat.*, III, 11; *Epist.* CVII.

¹⁴³ *In psalm.* I, 41; *In Lucam*, VII, 103.

¹⁴⁴ Some unimportant difficulties, which need not detain us here, have been raised in connection with Zeno's doctrine of grace. Cf. BALLERINI, *Dissertatio* II, capp. 5, 6 (*P. L.*, XI, col. 123 and foll.).

¹⁴⁵ HILARY, *In psalm.* CXVIII, litt. I, 12; litt. X, 15; litt. XIV, 1, 2; litt. XVII, 8; *In psalm.* LI, 20; LXIII, 6; CXXVI, 10-12; CXLII, 7; *De trinit.*, III, 35.

¹⁴⁶ AMBROSE, *In Lucam*, II, 84; III, 37; *In psalm.* XXXVI, 15; CXVIII, sermo I, 18.

operari videatur adiectum est illud: *Deus est enim qui operatur in vobis, et voluntate et efficacia, pro bona voluntate.* Ergo *salutem vestram*, inquit, *operamini*; sed ipsa operatio tamen a Deo est. Deus enim operatur in vobis, et operatur ut velitis ita. Et velle quasi nostrum est, unde nos operamur nobis salutem. Et tamen quia ipsum velle a Deo nobis operatur, fit ut ex Deo et operationem et voluntatem habeamus. Ita utrumque mixtum est, ut et nos habeamus voluntatem et Dei sit ipsa voluntas. . . . Operatur autem Deus in nobis et velle et agere pro bona voluntate. Ita, qui non ex Deo operatur, primo non habet velle; deinde, etiamsi habuerit velle, efficaciam non habet quia non habet bonam voluntatem.¹⁴⁷

So far, so good; but, when they come to the subject of the necessity of grace for the beginning of good works and of faith, some of the writers of whom we are speaking, seem to fall short of orthodoxy. This does not apply to St. Ambrose. In several places, particularly in the text we have quoted above, he affirms explicitly that we cannot "begin anything without the Lord." He adds elsewhere: "*Quidquid autem sanctum cogitaveris hoc Dei munus est, Dei inspiratio, Dei gratia,*"¹⁴⁸ and like the Ambrosiaster, he concludes that grace is granted to us gratuitously, and not on account of our deserts.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, when treating of the same subject, St. Hilary, St. Optatus and even St. Jerome have made a certain number of statements which now would be looked upon as Semi-Pelagian. "*Imbecilla enim est per se ad aliquid obtinendum humana infirmitas,*" St. Hilary writes, "*et hoc tantum naturae officium est, ut aggregare se in familiam Dei et velit et coeperit. Divinae misericordiae est ut volentes adiuvet,*

¹⁴⁷ In *epist. ad Philipp.*, II, 12, 13, col. 1212 A B. JEROME, *Epist. CXXXIII*, 6.

¹⁴⁸ *De Cain et Abel*, I, 45.

¹⁴⁹ In *Lucam*, VII, 27; *Exhort. virginit.*, 43; AMBROSIASTER, In *epist. ad Roman.*, XI, 6.

incipientes confirmet, adeuntes respiciat: ex nobis autem initium est, ut ille perficiat."¹⁵⁰ Similar expressions are met with in the writings of St. Optatus and St. Jerome.¹⁵¹

While they do not agree on the necessity of grace for the beginning of faith and of good works, the Latin theologians of the 4th century affirm unanimously the need of our co-operation in order to render grace efficacious. We have already quoted the statements of Victorinus and St. Ambrose. St. Hilary and St. Jerome are just as explicit. The former remarks that, although he dwells chiefly on the divine mercy, the Psalmist does not dispense man from the duty of meriting his salvation; that we must ourselves withdraw our hearts from sin and submit them to the yoke of divine obedience.¹⁵² The latter reminds us that it is for God to call us, and for us to believe: "*Dei enim vocare est et nostrum credere.*"¹⁵³

From this teaching to the theory of merit is but one step. As a matter of fact, the concept of merit and the word itself are often found in the texts which we are now considering. Faith has a great share in our justification, and according to Victorinus especially, this share is very important;¹⁵⁴ however, works must follow and support this faith: "*Prima ergo haec iustitia est agnoscere creatorem, deinde custodire quae praecipit.*"¹⁵⁵ These works merit salvation for us,¹⁵⁶ and it is by them that, at last, we shall be judged,

¹⁵⁰ *In psalm. CXVIII*, litt. XVI, 10; cf. litt. XIV, 20.

¹⁵¹ OPTAT., *De schism. donatistar.*, II, 20; JEROME, *Adv. pelag.*, I, 5; III, 1, cf. 10; *In Isaiam*, XLIX, 4.

¹⁵² *In psalm. CXLII*, 13; *CXVIII*, litt. XIV, 20.

¹⁵³ *In Isaiam*, XLIX, 4.

¹⁵⁴ *In epist. ad Galat.*, III, 22, col. 1172 B; *ad Philipp.*, III, 8, 9, col. 1219 C D; IV, 8, 9, col. 1231 A; *ad Ephes.*, II, 15, col. 1258 C; 16, col. 1259 C.

¹⁵⁵ AMBROSIASTER, *In epist. ad Rom.*, IX, 30. AMBROSE, *In Lucam*, VII, 104.

¹⁵⁶ AMBROSE, *In psalm. I*, 17; *In Lucam*, VIII, 47.

and either condemned or rewarded: "*Manifestum est quia unusquisque operibus suis aut iustificabitur aut condemnabitur,*"¹⁵⁷ and St. Hilary justifies this as follows: "*ut praemium sibi voluntas bonitatis acquireret, et esset nobis aeternae huius beatitudinis profectus atque usus ex merito, non necessitas indiscreta per legem.*"¹⁵⁸ St. Jerome, who was called upon by Jovinian's error to treat *ex professo* of the value of good works for salvation, has expounded this doctrine in its fulness. Faith alone, he says, does not suffice to save us, any more than works alone can save us. These do not serve merely to keep us from sin; they positively merit heaven for us. Our reward will be in proportion to them: "*Iam nostri laboris est, pro diversitate virtutum diversa nobis praemia preparare. . . . Ecce servo et servo plus minusve committitur, et pro qualitate commissi atque peccati plagarum quoque numerus irrogatur.*"¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless it seems that, especially among those Latin theologians who studied the views of the Greeks, the rigorous justice of Tertullian's doctrine is tempered by the sentiment, often expressed, that, however great our deserts may be, they are accompanied by all sorts of demerits; that they are in part the fruit of grace and after all fall far short of the reward promised to us; so that, in fact, this reward results more from God's mercy than from our merits. St. Hilary expresses admirably this view in the following words: "*Non enim ipsa illa iustitiae opera sufficiunt ad perfectae beatitudinis meritum, nisi misericordia Dei etiam in hac iustitiae voluntate humanarum demutationum et motuum vitia non reputet.*"¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ AMBROSIASTER, *In epist. ad Rom.*, XIII, 2; AMBROSE, *Epist.* II, 16.

¹⁵⁸ *In psalm.* II, 16; XCI, 10; LXIV, 6; PACIAN, *Sermo de baptismo*,

7.

¹⁵⁹ *Adv. Iovinianum*, II, 32, 33; and cf. II, 18-34.

¹⁶⁰ *In psalm.* LI, 23; CXVIII, litt. X, 15; *De trinit.*, IV, 38; AMBROSE, *In psalm.* CXVIII, sermo XX, 42; VICTORIN., *In epist. ad Ephes.*, I, 14, col. 1247 A; II, 5, col. 1255 B; III, 7, 8, col. 1264 B.

The problem of predestination was barely touched upon by Latin theologians up to the time of St. Augustine. Victorinus often speaks of it from a philosophical point of view.¹⁶¹ The Ambrosiaster ushers in views which will be condemned afterwards. Not only does he insist upon predestination to faith and glory; he seems even to deny that God wills to save all men: "*Ceteri vero salvare non possunt, quia per definitionem Dei spernuntur, per quam genus humanum salvare decrevit.*"¹⁶²

§ 6. Christology and Soteriology.¹⁶³

The Christological doctrine as well as the Trinitarian doctrine received from Tertullian its early and vigorous expression, which was completed, but not altered by subsequent theologians. On these points Apollinarianism disturbed the Latin Church still less than Arianism had done. It was condemned by the Popes, refuted and disproved by the great theologians. As far as we know, it enlisted in its behalf no theologian worth mentioning.

Even before it appeared, St. Hilary had declared against it. We can say of the Bishop of Poitiers, as has been said of St. Athanasius, that Christological doctrine owed almost as much to him as did the doctrine of the consubstantial. However, his teaching must be closely examined, because at times his views have been misunderstood. We shall be able to solve beforehand several difficulties to which these views may give rise, if we remember that St. Hilary has in mind the refutation of the Arians who deny that the Savior has a rational soul, and ascribe to the Word itself the emotions and passions to which Jesus was subject, as we learn from the Gospel.

¹⁶¹ *In epist. ad Ephes.*, I, 4, 11, col. 1238 C, 1239 B, 1241 D, 1245 C.

¹⁶² *In epist. ad Rom.*, VIII, 28, 29; IX, 28.

¹⁶³ On this last point, cf. J. RIVIÈRE, *Le dogme de la Rédemption*, Paris, 1905 (English translation, St. Louis, 1909).

The Saint has just established the full divinity of the Word. This Word becomes man: but how? Through an annihilation, an emptying of His divine form: "*In forma enim servi veniens evacuavit se a forma Dei.*"¹⁶⁴ Does Hilary mean to say that the Word really divested Himself of His divine nature? According to some, he does; but if we take into account all the texts that bear on the question, it is quite plain that he designates by the words *forma Dei*, not the divine nature itself, but the glorious state which is becoming to it, for he says again and again that, when He became united to human nature, the Word did not lose His own nature: "*Evacuatio formae non est abolitio naturae. . . . In corpore demutatio habitus et assumptio naturae naturam divinitatis non peremit, quia unus atque idem Christus sit et demutans habitum et assumens.*"¹⁶⁵ Nor can it be understood as Dorner holds, that St. Hilary taught that a sort of withdrawal of the Son's person within the Father took place at the moment of the Incarnation, and that it reappeared at the time of the glorification. In reality Hilary proclaims, on one hand, that the Word, before and during His earthly life is one and the same person,¹⁶⁶ and observes, on the other, that after the resurrection the *forma Dei* is given, not to the Word, but to the human nature.¹⁶⁷ We must then conclude that for him, the *κένωσις* implies merely a temporary giving up of that glory, which in our way of conceiving things, surrounds the divine life, but not a surrender of the prerogatives which are essential to that life.

The Word becomes incarnate freely, and by an act of

¹⁶⁴ *In psalm.* LXVIII, 25; LIII, 8; *De trinit.*, IX, 14.

¹⁶⁵ *De trinit.*, IX, 14, 38, 51; X, 7, 16, 22; XI, 18; *Fragm. ex opere histor.*, II, 32; *In psalm.* LXVIII, 25; CXLIII, 7.

¹⁶⁶ *De trinit.*, X, 22; IX, 14; *In psalm.* CXLIII, 7.

¹⁶⁷ *In psalm.* II, 27; CXLIII, 7.

His power.¹⁶⁸ St. Hilary analyzes in detail this wonderful fact. The humanity assumed by the Word is a real humanity¹⁶⁹ which, besides, is particular and numerically one, even though through it the whole of humanity is summed up in the new Adam.¹⁷⁰ The Bishop of Poitiers calls it heavenly, *caeleste corpus*.¹⁷¹ Why? First, because the soul, which is a part of that humanity, has been created by God, *i. e.*, by the Word Himself;¹⁷² then, because, although Mary, like all other mothers, formed the body of her Son out of her own substance, yet she did not do so by her own power, but by the power of the Holy Ghost and of the Word;¹⁷³ finally, because the Word has once more intervened to unite together the body, and the soul which He was about to assume.¹⁷⁴ Thus all that is in Jesus comes from heaven, although He is a man: "*Et homo est, et de caelis est.*"¹⁷⁵ Notwithstanding all this, His is a passible humanity. St. Hilary teaches and repeats, however, that it can suffer only through a miracle and by the positive will of the Word. In consequence of His union with the Word, of His impeccability and virginal birth, the man in Jesus must normally be unable to suffer, and be free from the necessities to which other men are subject, as well as from the affections and passions by which they are moved and disturbed.¹⁷⁶ If then,

¹⁶⁸ *In psalm.* LXVIII, 25; *De trinit.*, II, 26; IX, 51.

¹⁶⁹ *De trinit.*, X, 25.

¹⁷⁰ *De trinit.*, II, 24, 25; *In psalm.* LI, 16; LXVIII, 23; *In Matth.*, II, 15; IV, 12.

¹⁷¹ *De trinit.*, X, 18, 17; *In psalm.* LXVIII, 4, 23.

¹⁷² *De trinit.*, X, 20, 22.

¹⁷³ *De trinit.*, X, 15-17, 22, 25; II, 26.

¹⁷⁴ *De trinit.*, X, 15, 22.

¹⁷⁵ *De trinit.*, X, 17, 16, 18.

¹⁷⁶ *De trinit.*, X, 24, 27, 35, 37, 47. Zeno of Verona also holds that Jesus could not experience fear. The words *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem* He said in the name of the just who are persecuted (*Tract.* I, 16, 14).

as Hilary elsewhere admitted,¹⁷⁷ Jesus suffered, felt hunger and thirst, groaned and wept, it was because He willed it freely: whether we understand this of an order settled from the beginning and once for all, which subjects Christ's humanity, notwithstanding its prerogatives, to the laws common to all men, or whether we suppose a series of free acts, constantly renewed and counteracting, as it were, the action of the initial privilege. At any rate, far from being an argument against His divinity, Christ's sufferings and infirmities are on the contrary its proof, being an effect of His power;¹⁷⁸ the objections drawn from them by the Arians are to no purpose.

We have followed St. Hilary's argumentation to its conclusion. The other writers, Victorinus, Zeno, Phebadius, Ambrose and Jerome present — except as regards the last point — the same teaching, but not with the same fulness of detail, and the same depth of thought. Zeno writes simply that, in becoming incarnate, the Word has not ceased to be what He was: "*Salvo quod erat, meditaturs esse quod non erat.*"¹⁷⁹ St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, both contemporaries of Apollinaris, proclaim emphatically the existence of a rational soul in Jesus Christ. "*Quid autem opus fuit carnem suscipere sine anima, cum utique insensibilis caro et irrationabilis anima nec peccato sit obnoxia, nec digna prae-mio? Illud ergo pro nobis suscepit quod in nobis periclitabatur.*"¹⁸⁰ This is the classical argument: the Word must

¹⁷⁷ *De trinit.*, X, 23, 55, 56. St. Hilary seems at times to affirm that the pains of Jesus were not real, and that consequently He never suffered from them (*In psalm.* CXXXVIII, 3; *De trinit.*, X, 23, 47); but, in these places, he speaks of Jesus as God. In fact, the Word, as such, did not really suffer.

¹⁷⁸ *De trinit.*, X, 24, 47, 48.

¹⁷⁹ *Tract.* II, 8, 2; cf. 9, 2.

¹⁸⁰ AMBROSE, *De incarnationis domin. sacram.*, 68, and cf. 63-78; JEROME, *Apol. adv. libros Rufini*, II, 4; *In epist. ad Galat.*, I, 1; *In Ionam*, III, 6; etc.

have assumed all of man, since He came to heal the whole man.

While, ever since St. Paul, theologians had unanimously affirmed that Jesus Christ, even as man, was free from all moral stain, the question as to His ignorance, or, in other words, as to the extent of His human knowledge, had been left open, or had even been altogether ignored. In the 4th century, however, it became both timely and interesting on account of the Arian controversy. St. Hilary who had laid down the principle that, because of its union with the Word, the humanity of Jesus was free from bodily infirmities, naturally holds that it was also free from ignorance which results in us from our imperfection. The Bishop of Poitiers sees a mere economical ignorance in the words of Our Lord, related by *Mark XIII, 32*, "*cum Filius idcirco nescire se dicat ne et alii sciant.*"¹⁸¹ St. Ambrose inclines evidently to the same conclusion, although he seems to be undecided. In his *De fide ad Gratianum* (378-380), he ascribes to some bolder theologians — to whose number he does not belong — the view that admits a real progress of Jesus in knowledge as well as in grace, and he concludes: "*Haec tamen alii dicant.*"¹⁸² However, he himself apparently adopts this view in the *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*, 71-73, written probably in the year 382.¹⁸³ When commenting upon the text of *Matthew XXIV, 36*, and of *Mark XIII, 32*, which refer to the ignorance of the judgment-day, he observes first that the words *nec Filius* are not found — and this is true of St. Matthew — in the old Greek MSS., and apparently intends to interpret

¹⁸¹ *De trinit.*, IX, 62-67. There is found, indeed, in *De trinit.*, IX, 75, a passage given by a MS. of Verona, in which this ignorance is posited as real and due to the human nature; but the authenticity of this passage is not certain.

¹⁸² *De fide*, V, 221, 222.

¹⁸³ And cf. *In Lucam*, II, 63, 64.

them as of the son of man in Jesus Christ; but then he changes his mind and, in order to solve the difficulty, has recourse to the hypothesis of an economical ignorance: "*Si quaeramus, non ignorantiae inveniemus esse sed sapientiae. Nobis enim scire non proderat.*"¹⁸⁴ As to St. Jerome, he declares himself more explicitly in favor of the human ignorance of Jesus. In his commentary on *Isaias* V, 15, he looks upon the progress of Jesus in wisdom and grace as real, and affirms that the reason why, even in His youth, He discerned good from evil, is found in His divinity. Again, in his dialogue against the Pelagians, II, 4, he writes that the Savior did not know the day and hour of the judgment, and when he adds, in his commentary on *Matt.*, XXIV, 36 (cf. XXVIII, 20), that this ignorance was economical, he has reference only to the view that would ascribe it to the divine Word in Jesus. From this diversity of opinions it is safe to conclude that, as regards the question we have just considered, the Latin theological teaching of the 4th century was not altogether fixed. Before we come to the very important problem of the existence of the two natures and of their mode of union in Jesus Christ, we may clear up another difficulty in connection with St. Hilary's Christology. The Holy Doctor plainly supposes that, during the *triduum mortis*, the Word remained united to the body and soul of the Redeemer,¹⁸⁵ and he takes a special delight in representing the resurrection as a new birth which the Father gives to His Son.¹⁸⁶ All this is correct; but, according to Baur, St. Hilary taught, besides, that in the glorification of Jesus, the Savior's humanity disappeared and was absorbed into the divinity. Several texts, for instance, the *De trinitate*, IX, 38 and 41, and XI, 40 — and these are very significant indeed — may be quoted in

¹⁸⁴ *De fide*, V, 209, and generally, V, 193-224; cf. *In Lucam*, VIII, 34-36.

¹⁸⁵ *De trinit.*, IX, 34, 63.

¹⁸⁶ *In psalm.* II, 27-30.

support of that view; but, they do not necessitate the conclusion which is actually drawn from them. As a matter of fact, St. Hilary declares that the Word ascended into heaven, together with the human nature He had assumed: "*hominem quem assumpserat reportavit*";¹⁸⁷ that He is to return on the judgment-day with that humanity which was nailed to the cross and glorified on Mount Thabor.¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, at the end of ages, this same humanity will be transformed by glory "*non abiecto corpore, sed ex subiunctione translato, neque per defectionem abolito, sed ex clarificatione mutato.*"¹⁸⁹ This transformation is not a substantial change of the Savior's human nature; it is merely a change of the conditions and mode of its existence.

There still remains the question of the duality of natures and the unity of person in Jesus. This was to be settled during the 5th century, and its terminology determined for the East. This movement was felt but faintly in the West during the 4th century. Zeno, whose statements are generally rather loose, uses, to designate the Incarnation, expressions that smack some times of Nestorianism, at times too of Monophysitism: "*Infunditur (Deus) in hominem*" — "*Deus, ex persona hominis quem assumpserat, ait*" — "*Mistus itaque humanae carni se fingit infantem*" — "*Homo mistus*" — "*Tu Deum in hominem demutare valuisti.*"¹⁹⁰ But, even in these places, if one goes beyond the words to the thing itself, he will find a precise doctrine, and this doctrine is that, in the Incarnation, the Word has not been changed into the body which He assumed,¹⁹¹ that there has been no merging of the Word and of the human

¹⁸⁷ *In Matt.*, III, 2; IV, 14.

¹⁸⁸ *De trinit.*, III, 16, 20; *In psalm.* LV, 12.

¹⁸⁹ *De trinit.*, XI, 40; cf. *In psalm.* CXLIII, 7; LXVIII, 25; II, 27.

¹⁹⁰ *Tract.* II, 8, 2; I, 16, 14; II, 8, 2; II, 6, 1; I, 2, 9.

¹⁹¹ PHEBADIUS, *De filii divinit.*, 8; VICTORIN., *Adv. Arium*, I, 45, col. 1075 C.

nature into a *tertium quid*, which would have been neither God nor man,¹⁹² but that the Word has united Himself to a human nature, in such a way that after the union there is only one person, the natural Son of God, and that, nevertheless, the divine and the human nature remain distinct in their attributes and their operations. A few quotations may justify and illustrate this exposition. Says St. Hilary: "*Nescit plane vitam suam, nescit qui Christum Iesum ut verum Deum ita et verum hominem ignorat. . . . Utrumque unus existens, dum ipse ex unitis naturis naturae utriusque res eadem est.*"¹⁹³—" *Ecclesiae fides . . . non patitur Christum Iesum, ut Iesus non sit ipse Christus, nec filium hominis discernit a Dei filio, ne filius Dei forte non et filius hominis intellegatur.*"¹⁹⁴ Moreover, it is evident from all his statements on the subject, that St. Hilary looks upon the Word as the principle of Jesus' personality.¹⁹⁵ Says Pheadius: "*Credimus Dominum nostrum ex duabus substantiis constituisse, humana scilicet atque divina, et ita illum immortalem fuisse divina et mortalem ea quae fuerit humana.*"¹⁹⁶ Each nature preserves its own operations: "*Utramque substantiam suam affectus proprietate distinxit. Nam spiritus in illo res suas regit, id est virtutes et opera et signa, et caro passionibus suis functa est.*"¹⁹⁷ Yet, there is but one Son, God united to man: "*Quod virgo concepit, hoc peperit, id est Deum homini suo, ut iam dixi, sociatum.*"¹⁹⁸ Hence the law of the *communicatio idiomatum*.¹⁹⁹ We find the same teaching in Victorinus,²⁰⁰ and in

¹⁹² PHEBADIUS, *Lib. cont. arianos*, 5.

¹⁹³ *De trinit.*, IX, 3.

¹⁹⁴ *De trinit.*, X, 52, 22, 34, 62, 63; IX, 14.

¹⁹⁵ See, for instance, *De trinit.*, X, 47.

¹⁹⁶ *Liber contra arianos*, 19, 4, 18.

¹⁹⁷ *Lib. contra arianos*, 5, 18.

¹⁹⁸ *De filii divinit.*, 8.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *Adv. Arium*, I, 45, col. 1075 B; I, 14, col. 1048 D; *In epist. ad*

Zeno who puts in relief the unity of person, by contrasting the properties of the two natures: "*In se Maria creatorem mundi concepit . . . exponit infantem totius naturae antiquitate maiorem.*"—"Vagit Deus; patiturque se pannis aligari qui totius orbis debita venerat soluturus. . . . Subiicit se gradibus aetatis cuius aeternitas in se non admittit aetatem!"²⁰¹ The same teaching is found in Niceta, in whom we seem to have a prelude to St. Leo's letter to Flavian.²⁰² Finally, the same statements are made by St. Jerome²⁰³ and St. Ambrose whose words on this subject have become classical: "*Servemus distinctionem divinitatis et carnis. Unus in utraque loquitur Dei Filius, quia in eodem utraque natura est; et si idem loquitur, non uno semper loquitur modo.*"²⁰⁴—"Non divisus Christus, sed unus, quia utrumque, unus, et unus in utroque, hoc est vel divinitate vel corpore: non enim alter ex Patre, alter ex Virgine, sed idem aliter ex Patre, aliter ex Virgine."²⁰⁵ The reader will not fail to remark that the Bishop of Milan affirms the existence of the two wills: "*Suscepit ergo (Christus) voluntatem meam, suscepit tristitiam meam. . . . Mea est voluntas quam suam dixit.*"²⁰⁶

Once more, we may notice that in all this there is very little philosophy: nothing at all of the lengthy dissertations regarding the concepts of person and nature, in which the Greek mind takes delight, but simply a plain and vigorous

Philipp., II, 6-8, col. 1208 C D. While it is true that Victorinus admits in a general way the divine sonship of Jesus, yet he imagines, as coincident, a sort of adoptive sonship becoming to the human nature: "Nos enim adoptione filii, ille natura. Etiam quadam adoptione filius et Christus, sed secundum carnem" (*Adv. Arium*, I, 10, col. 1045 C).

²⁰¹ *Tract.* II, 8, 2; 9, 2; 7, 4.

²⁰² *De ratione fidei*, 6, 7; *De symbolo*, 4.

²⁰³ *Epist.* CXX, 9; *In epist. ad Galat.*, I, I, II; *In Matth.*, XXVIII, 2.

²⁰⁴ *De fide*, II, 77, 57, 58, 60; cf. III, 10, 65; *De incarnat. domin. sacram.*, 23, 37-45.

²⁰⁵ *De incarnat. domin. sacram.*, 35; *De fide*, II, 58; III, 8; V, 107.

²⁰⁶ *De fide*, II, 53; cf. 52; *In Lucam*, X, 60.

affirmation of what the Church believes,—a belief which is as yet felt and lived rather than intellectually analyzed.

Jesus came on earth to save us, to free us from death and sin, and reconcile us to God. How do the Latin theologians of whom we are treating, conceive this work of redemption?

We find in their writings all the various soteriological views — the speculative view, the realistic view, the theory of the rights of Satan — which we have already noticed in the Eastern theologians of the same period. It is but fair to add, however, that, as a rule, the realistic theory is more common and more emphatically set forth among them than among the Greeks. The other two theories — especially the speculative theory, when it is encountered — are evidently due to Greek influence.

Thus we are not surprised to hear St. Hilary declare that the Son of God was born of the Virgin "*ut homo factus naturam in se carnis acciperet, perque huius admixtionis societatem sanctificatum in eo universi generis humani corpus existeret;*"²⁰⁷ and also that His body is like a city of which every man is a citizen; so that the Word dwells, in some way, in every one of us,²⁰⁸ and, through His incarnation alone, raises us all to a divine life.

This is the idea of St. Athanasius and also of St. Irenæus. Except St. Hilary, the Latin Fathers of the 4th century hardly notice it or even ignore it altogether. On the other hand, some, if not many of them, dwell at length upon Christ's passion and death as being the principle of our redemption.

St. Ambrose declares, first, that Christ alone could deliver us: none of us could free himself and others, since all

²⁰⁷ *De trinit.*, II, 24; IX, 4.

²⁰⁸ *In Matth.*, IV, 12; *In psalm.* LXI, 2.

men, except Jesus, were held in an hereditary bondage.²⁰⁹ It was, then, necessary that Jesus should take up our cause; that He should be substituted for us, and that, assuming the debt of mankind and coming forward as surety for all, He should suffer, atone and pay in the name and stead of all. This is the doctrine of *recapitulation*, of comprehension, or even simply of vicarious substitution. We find it explicitly stated in almost all the Latin theologians of whom we are speaking. Hilary: "*Quae non rapuerat tunc repetebatur exsolvere. Cum enim debitor mortis peccatique non esset (Christus), tanquam peccati et mortis debitor tenebatur.*"²¹⁰ Victorinus: "*In isto enim omnia universalia fuerunt, universalis caro, anima universalis, et in crucem sublata atque purgata sunt per salutem Deum λόγον.*"²¹¹ Ambrose: "*Peccatum non fecit, sed peccatum factus est. Ergo in peccatum conversus est Dominus? Non ita; sed quia peccata nostra suscepit, peccatum dictus est. Nam et maledictum dictus est Dominus, quia nostrum suscepit ipse maledictum;*"²¹² or still more simply: "*Hominis causam locumque suscepit.*"²¹³ The Ambrosiaster, Zeno of Verona and St. Jerome might also be quoted.²¹⁴

Again, this substitution was no more forced upon Jesus than were His sufferings and death. St. Hilary, St. Ambrose and St. Jerome especially have insisted on the free, spontaneous and consequently meritorious character of the work of redemption. "*Maledictorum se ergo obtulit morti,*

²⁰⁹ *In psalm. CXVIII, sermo VI, 22. Cf. AMBROSIASER, In epist. I ad Corinth., VII, 23.*

²¹⁰ *In psalm. LXVIII, 7; cf. 6, 8; In Matth., XXXI, 10; De trinit., X, 4.*

²¹¹ *Adv. Arium, III, 3, col. 1101 A; In epist. ad Galat., VI, 14, col. 1196 D.*

²¹² *De incarnat. domin. sacram., 60.*

²¹³ *De interpell. Iob et David, IV, 27; cf. Epist. XLI, 7.*

²¹⁴ ZENO, *Tract. I, 2, 9; AMBROSIASER, In epist. II ad Corinth., V, 22; JEROME, In Isaiam, LIII, 5-7, 1 and foll.*

ut maledictum legis dissolveret, hostiam se ipse Deo Patri voluntarie offerendo, ut per hostiam voluntariam maledictum, quod ob hostiae necessariae et intermissae reatum erat additum, solveretur." ²¹⁵ While obeying the Father, it is then freely that Jesus gives His blood and life to be the price of our ransom. He buys us, as it were: "*Caro factus, ut in carne cum esset, totum hominem sua passione et morte iuxta passiones corporis mercaretur;*" ²¹⁶ or, again, He offers Himself as a victim in sacrifice. St. Hilary affirms this in a text which we have already quoted; St. Ambrose repeats it again and again: "*Idem ergo sacerdos, idem et hostia . . . nam et agnus ad immolandum ductus est, et sacerdos est secundum ordinem Melchisedec.*" ²¹⁷ This was an atoning sacrifice: "*Poenas scilicet insipientiae et delictorum, quas non rapuerat, repetebatur (Christus) exsolvere.*" ²¹⁸ It was a sacrifice of propitiation and appeasement, which reconciled us to God: "*Ipse enim (Christus) secundum Apostolum nostra placatio est*" — "*in cuius sanguine reconciliati Deo sumus.*" ²¹⁹ Both Hilary and Ambrose use even the word *satisfaction*, not, however, in the sense which we give now to this word, but rather in that of expiation. ²²⁰ At any rate, the death and blood of Jesus are a sufficient, nay, a superabundant atonement and redemption for all the sins of the world. The only thing man has to do, is to apply its fruits to himself:

²¹⁵ HILARY, *In psalm.* LIII, 13, cf. 12. AMBROSE, *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*, II, 46; *In Lucam*, III, 48; *De benedict. patriarcharum*, 20. JEROME, *In epist. ad Galat.*, I, 4. Cf. AMBROSIAS, *In epist. ad Ephesios*, V, 2.

²¹⁶ VICTORIN., *Adv. Arium*, I, 45, col. 1075 C; HILARY, *In Matth.*, XXXII, 6; XIV, 16; AMBROSE, *In Lucam*, VII, 114, 117; AMBROSIAS, *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, VII, 23; XI, 26; JEROME, *In Isaiam*, LIII, 7 and foll.

²¹⁷ *De fide*, III, 87; *De Spiritu Sancto*, I, 4; *Epist.* XLIV, 16.

²¹⁸ HILARY, *In psalm.* LXVIII, 7.

²¹⁹ HILARY, *In psalm.* LXIV, 4; CXXIX, 9.

²²⁰ HILARY, *In psalm.* LIII, 12; AMBROSE, *De fuga saeculi*, 44.

"Cuius (Christi) sanguinis pretium poterat abundare ad universa mundi totius redimenda peccata." ²²¹

That the Latin theologians of the 4th century hold realistic views in their soteriology, is, then, quite evident; moreover, some of them borrow from Origen and Gregory of Nyssa the theory of the rights of Satan. St. Jerome records it as he would a point of erudition; but as he neither condemns it, nor takes exception to it, he makes it apparently his own.²²² At any rate, this is unquestionably the case with St. Ambrose. His oratorical genius is attracted by this conception, and he readily expatiates upon it. In sinning we sold ourselves to Satan; for sin is, as it were, the devil's coin and the money with which he buys us. After we had thus become enslaved, we could not free ourselves and pay for our ransom. But Jesus, who is innocent, is not enslaved by Satan; He offers to this cruel master, in order to redeem us, His own blood; whose worth is infinitely greater than our own worth. Satan accepts the offer of Jesus; the price is paid, and we are free; or rather we have another creditor: our debt remains, but henceforth we are debtors to Jesus to whom we owe ourselves: *"Pretium autem nostrae liberationis erat sanguis Domini Iesu, quod necessario solvendum erat ei, cui peccatis venditi sumus."* *"Venit Dominus Iesus, mortem suam pro morte omnium obtulit, sanguinem suum pro sanguine fudit universorum. Mutavimus ergo creditorem; imo evasimus: manet enim debitum, fenus intercidit."* ²²³

St. Ambrose here expounds the very theory of the ransom paid to the devil by Jesus. But this theory can also be set forth in a less repugnant form. Through sin, all men have fallen under the power of Satan, and this is why they be-

²²¹ AMBROSE, *In psalm. XLVIII*, 13-15.

²²² *In epist. ad Ephesios*, I, 7; cf. *In Isaiam*, L, 1.

²²³ *Epist. LXXII*, 8, 9; *XLI*, 7, 8; *In Lucam*, VII, 114, 117; *In psalm. XXXVI*, 46.

come a prey to death, his accomplice, and are afterwards detained in the dungeons of hell. Being innocent, Jesus is by right, free from this subjection; but the devil is deceived by the Savior's apparent weakness and is bold enough to raise his hand against Him: he has Him put to death. For this abuse of power, Satan must be punished. Since he has inflicted death on one who was guiltless, he shall forfeit his rights even over those who were guilty. The theory of Satan's rights, reduced to these proportions, is met with not only in St. Ambrose,²²⁴ but also in St. Hilary.²²⁵ The Ambrosiaster adopts it in many places,²²⁶ and St. Pacian sums it up in eloquent words.²²⁷

This theory lent itself to oratorical effect, and one can find, in M. Rivi re's work,²²⁸ the various developments to which it was subjected. But it was destined to give place to the realistic theory, which had evidently the preference of the Latin theologians of the 4th century, and with which, moreover, it is not incompatible. As to the fruits of redemption, these theologians, particularly St. Ambrose, have often and incidentally mentioned them. These fruits are the forgiveness of sins, our reconciliation with God, blissful immortality and participation in the divine life: "*Ad vulnera nostra descendit (Christus), ut, usu quodam et copia sui, naturae compotes nos faciat esse caelestis.*"²²⁹

§ 7. Ecclesiology.

Jesus Christ continues His life in the world through the Church. She is not only the mountain of the Lord and the

²²⁴ *In Lucam*, IV, 11, 12.

²²⁵ *In psalm*. LXVIII, 8.

²²⁶ *In epist. ad Rom.*, III, 24; *In epist. ad Ephesios*, V, 2.

²²⁷ *Sermo de baptismo*, 4.

²²⁸ *Le dogme de la r demption*, p. 415 and foll. [English transl., vol. II, p. 158 and foll.]

²²⁹ AMBROSE, *In Lucam*, V, 46; *In psalm*. XXXIX, 2; *Epist.* VII, 12; HILARY, *In psalm*. CXXIX, 9.

house of God, where His children dwell, she is also the body of Jesus Christ; ²³⁰ and just as He was yesterday, is to-day and shall be forever, so also the Church, considered in all her extent, is the assembly of all the saints, members of Jesus Christ, who lived, are living and shall live till the end of time. Furthermore, the Church is made up not only of men, but of angels and principalities, since they also have been reconciled in Christ, according to the words of the Apostle. Niceta expresses this lofty concept in his commentary upon the creed: "*Ecclesia quid est aliud quam sanctorum omnium congregatio?*" (10), and from this he infers that, in the Church, the faithful profit by the *communion of Saints*,—an expression which appears in the creed for the first time in his works, or at least at that period, although it may be more ancient. Taken in its positive sense, it means that, through baptism, every Christian shares in the faith, suffrages and merits of all those who belong to the Church, of all the saints, whether dead, living or still to come. Taken in its negative sense, it means that every Christian is separated from the *communio malorum*, i. e., from the heathen, and from the sects which are not the Church of Christ. This expression, which may have been coined by the rebaptizers and the Novatians, who admitted into their Church only those who were just, was adopted by the orthodox, about the end of the 4th century, to designate the mutual union of the members of the true and universal Church.²³¹

We may now come more especially to the Church upon earth, to the Church militant.

On the occasion of the schism of Novatus, St. Cyprian

²³⁰ HILARY, *In psalm*. CXXI, 10; CXXIV, 3; CXXVIII, 29.

²³¹ On this point, see DOM G. MORIN, "*Sanctorum Communionem*," in the *Revue d'hist. et de littér. relig.*, IX, 1904. J. P. KIRSCH, *Die Lehre von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen im christl. Alterthum*, Mayence, 1900 [English transl., London, 1910].

had already proclaimed with vigor that the Church must be one, and that she rests upon the episcopate which has the see of Rome for its centre. The Donatist schism was soon to lead St. Optatus, and later on, St. Augustine to state these ideas with still more precision and to develop them. Most of the Latin ecclesiology was the work of the African theologians.

In this place, the reader may recall what was, on the subject of the Church, the error of the Donatists. Identifying the body and the soul of the Church, the visible and the invisible Church, they claimed, like the Novatians, that no one but the just belonged even to the visible Church, and that membership with her could be lost by any grievous sin whatever. For them, the chief mark of the Church was holiness; and as they found that holiness only in their church, their church alone was the true Church.

However, when opposed by St. Optatus, Bishop Parmenian had mentioned several other characteristics or marks of the true Church: such as (1) the *chair*, *i. e.*, the episcopal see; (2) the *angel*, *i. e.*, the fact of having a legitimate bishop, or, in a more general way, the power of dispensing holy things; (3) the *Spirit* given to Christians by God or by His ministers; (4) the *font* (*fons*), which means either the true faith or perhaps baptism in which one professes that faith; (5) the *seal* or *ring* (*sigillum*, *annulus*), probably baptism which seals the true faith and stamps the neophyte with it; (6) lastly, the *navel*, *i. e.*, the altar, the true Eucharist, or the true worship.²³² While Optatus denies that this last characteristic is a mark of the true Church (II, 8), he accepts the five others and tries to show that they are found only among Catholics; but from the way in which he treats the subject, it is evident that he acknowl-

²³² OPTATUS, II, 2, 6-8.

edges chiefly two great marks of the true Church,—catholicity and unity.

Catholicity: “*Ubi ergo erit proprietates catholici nominis, cum inde dicta sit catholica, quod sit rationabilis et ubique diffusa.*” (II, 1.) The Church must be catholic, because God has promised to His Son all nations as an inheritance, and it is through the Church that Christ becomes their master. “*Concedite ut hortus eius sit longe lateque diffusus*” (II, 11).

Unity. St. Optatus distinguishes carefully between schism and heresy (I, 10, 12, etc.). The latter changes the symbol and contradicts faith; the former destroys the unity of communion and does away with charity. Now Jesus Christ willed the unity of His Church; for this purpose He made St. Peter the prince of the Apostles; to him first He gave the episcopal see of Rome, to him alone He gave the power of the keys. Unity must be preserved in this one chair — *i. e.*, through communion with it; — it was to be preserved therein by the Apostles themselves who were forbidden to set up their chair against that of Peter, since after all there must be only one chair in the Church. That power of the keys, conferred on Peter, was to be imparted to the other Apostles; but he received it first alone:

“*Igitur negare non potes scire te in urbe Roma Petro primo cathedram episcopalem esse collatam, in qua sederit omnium apostolorum caput Petrus; unde et Cephias appellatus est: in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur, ne ceteri apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent, ut iam schismaticus et peccator esset qui contra singularem cathedram alteram collocaret*” (II, 2; cf. 6, 9). “*Bono unitatis, beatus Petrus, cui satis erat si post quod negavit, solam veniam consequeretur, et praeferri apostolis omnibus meruit, et claves regni caelorum communicandas ceteris solus accepit*” (VII, 3). These are indeed the thoughts and ex-

pressions of St. Cyprian on the unity of the Church; but they are reëchoed by the Bishop of Milevis with still more strength and cogency.

Once these principles laid down, St. Optatus has no difficulty in proving that the Catholics alone — and not the Donatists — possess that catholicity and that unity which are the marks of the true Church: catholicity, because Catholics are spread over the whole world, whereas the schism is confined within the boundaries of Africa; unity, because they have on their side the chair of Peter, and through it are in communion with all Christians: “*Igitur de dotibus supradictis cathedra est (ut diximus) prima, quam probavimus per Petrum nostram esse*” — “*per cathedram Petri quae nostra est*” (II, 6, 9). — “*Cum quo (Siricio) nobiscum totus orbis commercio formatarum, in una communionis societate concordat*” (II, 3). Of course, the Donatists have tried to establish bishops at Rome; but these bishops do not sit on the *cathedra Petri*; they are foreigners.

Hence the Roman Catholic Church is the true Church, and the fact that she is made up of those who are good and of those who are bad, of just men and sinners, does not weaken this conclusion, for the Church is a *corpus mixtum*. This mixture has been willed or at least allowed by Jesus Himself, and we must tolerate it till the end of the world: “*Pariter iussit Christus in agro suo per totum orbem terrarum, in quo est una Ecclesia, et sua semina crescere et aliena. . . . Nefas est enim ut episcopi faciamus quod apostoli non fecerunt, qui permissi non sunt vel semina separare, vel de tritico zizania evellere*” (VII, 2).

This doctrine of the *corpus mixtum* is also St. Hilary's.²³³ On the contrary, St. Pacian — supposing the text of his writings has not been altered — excludes from the Church impenitent sinners: “*Quamdiu peccat et non paenitet, ex-*

²³³ *In Matth.*, XXXIII, 8.

tra Ecclesiam constitutus est;"²³⁴ however, he agrees with St. Optatus as regards the unity and catholicity of the Church: "*Ergo Ecclesia plenum est corpus et solidum, et toto iam orbe diffusum*"—"Christianus mihi nomen est, catholicus vero cognomen."²³⁵ Besides, catholicity implies unity, a unity which Jesus established in giving first to Peter alone the power of the keys: "*Ad unum, ideo ut unitatem fundaret ex uno.*"²³⁶

During the 4th century, emperors had become Christians, some, heretics, and, as a consequence, the Church had been threatened more than once in the freedom of her preaching and ministry. First in the civil and military order, these new Christians were anxious to hold the first place in the religious order also, as their predecessors had done. The Latin Church strongly objected to this pretension by the voice of such men as Hosius, Hilary, Martin and Ambrose. St. Athanasius has preserved the noble protest of Hosius against the policy of Constantius: "Intrude not yourself into ecclesiastical matters, neither give commands unto us concerning them; but learn them from us. God has put into your hands the empire; to us He has entrusted the affairs of His Church; and as he who would steal the empire from you would resist the ordinance of God, so likewise fear on your part lest by taking upon yourself the government of the Church, you become guilty of a great offense. It is written: *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.*"²³⁷ St. Hilary and St. Martin likewise protested, the former against the same Constantius,²³⁸ the latter, as we have seen, against the

²³⁴ *Epist.* III, 4.

²³⁵ *Epist.* III, 4; I, 4.

²³⁶ *Epist.* III, II; I, 4.

²³⁷ ATHANASIUS, *Historia arianorum and monachos*, 44 [*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, vol. IV, p. 286].

²³⁸ HILARY, *Ad Constantium augustum*, I, I.

usurper Maximus; ²³⁹ as to St. Ambrose, all know with what noble courage he proclaimed and upheld against Theodosius and his successors the independence and rights of bishops in ecclesiastical matters: "*Quando audisti, clementissime imperator, in causa fidei laicos de episcopo iudicare?*" ²⁴⁰

Hence the Church, as such, is independent of the civil power; besides, she herself has a visible leader, a bishop higher in rank than the other bishops, a bishop who rules over her. As we have seen, the Greeks of the 4th and 5th centuries acknowledged in the see of Rome a primacy, a higher authority to which some of their bishops had recourse. This being the view of the Greeks, we can safely surmise that the Latins fully agreed with them on that score. The texts of Optatus and Pacian on the privileges of St. Peter have been already quoted. Almost all the other Fathers and ecclesiastical writers, such as St. Hilary, Victorinus, St. Ambrose, the Ambrosiaster and St. Jerome, speak in the same sense. Peter is the foundation of the Church and the prince of the Apostles; he has been put in charge of the government of the Church; he it is who has received an exceptional authority and has been made the leader, in order that every schismatic attempt may be frustrated. ²⁴¹ "*Ubi ergo Petrus,*" St. Ambrose concludes, "*ibi Ecclesia; ubi Ecclesia, ibi nulla mors, sed vita aeterna;*" ²⁴² and St. Jerome: "*Si quis cathedrae Petri iungitur, meus est.*" ²⁴³

²³⁹ Sulpitius Severus, *Historia Sacra*, II, 50.

²⁴⁰ *Epist.* XXI, 4; LVII, 8; cf. *Sermo contra Auxentium*, 3 (P. L., XVI, 1008).

²⁴¹ Hilary, *In psalm.* CXXXI, 4; *In Matth.*, VII, 6; XVI, 7; Victorinus, *In epist. ad Galat.*, I, 15, col. 1155 A B; Ambrose, *In psalm.* XLIII, 40; *De fide*, IV, 56 (the passage *De Incarnat. domin. sacram.*, 32, does not weaken these assertions); Ambrosiaster, *In epist. II ad Corinth.*, XII, 11; Jerome, *Adv. Iovinianum*, I, 26.

²⁴² *In psalm.* XL, 30.

²⁴³ *Epist.* XVI, 2.

Now this chair of Peter is at Rome: from this, St. Optatus inferred that to be outside the Roman communion was just the same as to be outside the Church. St. Ambrose and St. Jerome not only agree with him, they seem even to emphasize still more the authority of jurisdiction of that center of unity. Their texts have become classical: "*Totius orbis romani caput romanam Ecclesiam atque illam sacrosanctam, apostolicam fidem, ne turbari sineret, observanda fuit clementia vestra; inde enim in omnes venerandae communionis iura dimanarunt.*"²⁴⁴ "*Ego nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, beatitudini tuae, id est cathedrae Petri, communione consocior: super illam petram aedificatam ecclesiam scio. Quicumque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, profanus est. . . . Quicumque tecum non colligit, spargit, hoc est, qui Christi non est Antichristi est.*"²⁴⁵ St. Ambrose concludes also that to be in communion with the Church of Rome is to be in communion with the Catholic Church and that the Novatians cannot possess Peter's inheritance, since they do not possess his see.²⁴⁶

Naturally — and there more than elsewhere — the authorities of the Roman Church are conscious of this recognition of their divine prerogatives and show that consciousness in their way of acting. In his letter to the Eusebians, Pope Julius signifies to them that, in spite of their condemning Marcellus of Ancyra, he still remains in communion with him; he reproves generally their whole con-

²⁴⁴ AMBROSE, *Epist.* XI, 4.

²⁴⁵ JEROME, *Epist.* XV, 2; CXXX, 16; *Apologia adv. libr. Rufini*, I, 4. In the letter to Evangelus (*Epist.* CXLVI, 1), which contains more than one ill-considered statement, St. Jerome writes that "if authority is considered, that of the world is greater than that of Rome," that all the bishops have the same merit and the same priesthood and that all are the successors of the Apostles. While it is true that these words need to be explained, they do not weaken other affirmations of the Saint.

²⁴⁶ *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*, I, 47; *De paenitentia*, I, 33.

duct, and while appealing to the authority of Sts. Peter and Paul, he blames in particular the opponents of Athanasius for having decided the case of the Patriarch of Alexandria before writing to him, the Bishop of Rome, "as has been the custom" in such cases.²⁴⁷ When he writes to the Oriental bishops concerning Apollinaris and Timothy, Damasus calls those bishops, not brethren, but most honored sons (*filiis honoratissimi*), and praises their deference to the Apostolic See.²⁴⁸ Siricius speaks of his duty of taking care of all the churches.²⁴⁹ In the year 417, Innocent answers the bishops of the synods of Milevis and of Carthage, and reminds them of the fact that no ecclesiastical dispute, even those disputes arising in the most distant provinces, can be settled, before the Apostolic See is made cognizant of the case and confirms the decision; and that all questions, especially those of faith, must be submitted to Peter's successor, that he may point out the doctrine to be followed. This is the *antiqua regulae forma*, "*quam toto semper ab orbe mecum nostis esse servatam.*"²⁵⁰ Pope Zosimus shows even more, if possible, the same authoritative attitude.²⁵¹ Side by side with the Popes, the emperors themselves show that they too realize the authority of Rome. It is to a Roman Council, presided over by Miltiades, that Constantine, urged by the Donatists to examine their cause, first appeals for judgment; it is the faith of Rome and of Alexandria which Theodosius first determines to follow, before convoking the second General Council.²⁵²

²⁴⁷ Ap. ATHANASIUS, *Apologia contra arianos*, 32, 35.

²⁴⁸ Ap. THEODORET, *Hist. eccles.*, V, 10.

²⁴⁹ *Epist.* VI, 1 (*P. L.*, XIII, 1164).

²⁵⁰ *Epist.* XXIX, 1; XXX, 2 (*P. L.*, XX).

²⁵¹ *Epist.* XII, 1.

²⁵² *Codex Theodos.*, XVI, 1, 2. See the text in HARNACK, *Lehrb. der D.*, II, p. 272, note 4 [*Hist. of Dogma*, vol. IV, p. 94, note 2].

§ 8. The Sacraments. Baptism. Confirmation.²⁵³

As we shall see from a detailed study, the Latin Church of the 4th century was acquainted with all the rites productive of grace which are now called sacraments. This word, however,—as well as the word *mysteriis*, borrowed from the Greeks,—was applied especially to the three rites of Christian initiation: baptism, confirmation and the Eucharist. They only are mentioned by St. Ambrose in his *De mysteriis*, and by the author of the *De sacramentis*; and it is in reference to them that these authors have enunciated the few general ideas applicable to all the sacraments which we gather from their works.

First, St. Ambrose and the author of the *De sacramentis* distinguish very carefully the rite itself from the grace which it produces in the person to whom the rite is applied; ²⁵⁴ nay, they are somewhat acquainted with the concept of an efficacious symbol; the rite—for instance, water or cleansing—figures the inner purification which results from baptism; ²⁵⁵ in the Eucharist, what is seen after the consecration is a mere sign of what is in reality.²⁵⁶ But when they come to determine what constitutes a sacrament strictly so called, they lack distinctness. They are intent on instituting a parallel between the Eucharist and baptism, by the same process as that used by the Greeks. The Eucharist, which is, so to speak, a stable sacrament, is brought about by pronouncing the words of institution over the bread and wine. After this the sacrament truly exists and needs only to be applied. Likewise, the authors of whom we are now speaking, claim that the blessing of the baptismal waters—a blessing which has for its effect their

²⁵³ P. POURRAT, *La théologie sacramentaire*, Paris, 1907 [English translation]. F. J. DOELGER, *Das Sakrament der Firmung*, Vienne, 1906.

²⁵⁴ AMBROSE, *De mysteriis*, 8, 11, 20; *De sacramentis*, I, 10.

²⁵⁵ AMBROSE, *In Lucam*, II, 79.

²⁵⁶ AMBROSE, *De mysteriis*, 50, 52, 54; *De sacramentis*, IV, 14-16.

sanctification by the descent of the Holy Ghost into them, — makes them a sanctifying principle, and the administration of the sacrament consists, as it were, in the application of this principle. Due allowance being made, the formula of blessing is for the water what the formula of consecration is for the bread and wine in the Eucharist. Were it not for that blessing, we would have but common water, void of the Holy Ghost and consequently unfit to produce a salutary effect. Hence, the sacrament of baptism is made up of that formula, of water and of the invocation of the Trinity: “*Aqua enim sine praedicatione dominicae crucis*”²⁵⁷ *ad nullos usus futurae salutis est: cum vero salutaris fuerit crucis mysterio consecrata, tunc ad usum spiritualis lavacri et salutaris poculi temperatur,*”²⁵⁸ “*Tres testes in baptisate unum sunt aqua sanguis et Spiritus; quia si in unum horum detrahas, non stat baptismatis sacramentum. Quid est enim aqua sine cruce Christi? Elementum commune sine ullo sacramenti effectui. Nec iterum sine aqua regenerationis mysterium est. . . . Sed nisi* (catechumenus) *baptizatus fuerit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, remissionem non potest accipere peccatorum, nec spiritualis gratiae munus haurire.*”²⁵⁹

But a more urgent question demanded, especially in Africa, the attention of theologians. The Donatists renewed the error of the rebaptizers and affirmed that sacraments were not valid, if administered outside the true Church, or by one who was notoriously unworthy. This was making the existence of the sacrament and the produc-

²⁵⁷ The water was blessed by means of a prayer accompanied with signs of the cross. See DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 299 and foll. [English transl., p. 299 and foll.].

²⁵⁸ AMBROSE, *De mysteriis*, 14, 19, 20; *De Spiritu Sancto*, I, 77, 88. *De sacramentis*, I, 15: “Non sanat aqua, nisi Spiritus descenderit et aquam illam consecraverit.”

²⁵⁹ AMBROSE, *De mysteriis*, 20.

tion of grace depend on the moral worth of the person who applied the sacramental rite. The question was studied *ex professo* by St. Optatus.

He treats of it especially in connection with baptism, but he himself applies his conclusions to confirmation (VII, 4), and, moreover, he speaks in a general way. Yet, it is but fair to observe that, like St. Cyprian, St. Optatus distinguishes nowhere the *validity* of the sacrament from its *efficacy*, and that consequently his language is at times somewhat lacking in clearness. In baptism, the Saint tells us, we must distinguish the Trinitarian formula by means of which this sacrament is administered, the believer who receives it and the one by whom it is administered; but these three elements have not the same importance: two are necessary; one is only *quasi* necessary. The invocation of the Trinity comes first in importance; without it nothing can be effected; the faith of the person who receives baptism comes next; as to the person of the minister, "*vicina est, quae simili auctoritate esse non potest.*" Baptism is somewhat like a body that has definite, invariable and unchangeable members or elements. Now the person of the minister is no part of these immutable elements; hence they are independent of him. On the other hand, the sacraments are holy, not on account of the men who impart them, but of themselves (*sacramenta per se esse sancta, non per homines*); and why? Because these men are merely the workmen and ministers of God; they are the instruments of Jesus Christ, the chief minister of baptism; they are not the masters of the sacraments, which are divine things; they merely produce the sacramental rite. It is God, not man, who cleanses and sanctifies the soul.

In this way Optatus answers the difficulty which the Donatists used to bring forward: "*Qui non habet quod det, quomodo dat?*" for it is not man who gives, but God

Himself whose place he holds. "*Omnes qui baptizant operarios esse non dominos. . . . Concedite Deo praestare quae sua sunt. Non enim potest id munus ab homine dari quod divinum est. . . . Deus lavat, non homo. . . . Dei est mundare, non hominis. . . . Ipse est ergo qui dat; ipsius est quod datur*" (V, 4; cf. V, 7). "*Promissum erat temporibus nostris, ut ipse (Christus) daret quod hodie datur . . . baptizabat quidem, sed per manus apostolorum quibus leges baptismatis dederat. . . . In hac re omnes discipuli eius sumus, ut nos operemur, ut ille det qui se daturum esse promisit*" (V, 5). "*Si (ut vultis) homo dat, Deus vacat, et si Deus vacat et apud vos est omne quod dandum est, ad vos sit conversio: quos baptizatis in nomine vestro tingantur*" (V, 6).²⁶⁰

The action of the sacrament comes, then, chiefly from the invocation of the Trinity: "*Nomen est quod sanctificat, non opus*" (V, 7). However, the faith of the recipient plays also an important part, at least as regards the efficacy of the sacrament, for this faith is a condition of God's intervention. Some have even raised the question whether St. Optatus did not generally look upon the baptism of heretics as invalid, owing to the lack of genuine faith in the recipient or in the minister; and in fact some passages of his work²⁶¹ seem to suggest this view. At any rate, he has no hesitation whatever regarding baptism by schismatics and public sinners. The baptism which they administer is certainly valid, and must not be renewed (V, 3). Because they do not impart grace themselves, they cannot prevent God from imparting it.

It is especially in connection with baptism, as has been said, that St. Optatus expatiates upon this doctrine. While

²⁶⁰ See also ST. AMBROSE, *De Spiritu Sancto*, I, 18; *De mysteriis*, 27.

²⁶¹ I, 10, col. 899, 905; V, 1, col. 1046. See also ST. PACIAN, *Epist.* III, 3, 22.

it is true that, at the epoch of which we are speaking, there are, in connection with this sacrament, uncertainties which we shall point out later, it is true also that generally the Latin ecclesiastical writers of that time have definite ideas concerning the conditions under which it must be administered and concerning its effects. St. Hilary reckons, besides the baptism of water, four other baptisms: the baptism of the Holy Ghost (*quae nos Sancti Spiritus sanctificet adventu*), that of fire at the time of the judgment (*quae iudicii igni nos decoquat*), that of death (*quae per mortis iniuriam a labe morticinae et societate purgabit*), and that of blood (*quae martyrii passione devota ac fidei sanguine abluet*); he derives this classification from Luke, III, 16 and XII, 50.²⁶² St. Ambrose will mention another baptism, the baptism of desire which can replace that of water.²⁶³ The rites followed in the administration of the latter are described and explained in the *De mysteriis* of St. Ambrose (5-28) and in the *De sacramentis* (II, 14-24). They consist essentially in the immersion of the candidate into water previously blessed, and that immersion is accompanied by the Trinitarian formula. However, in the *De Spiritu Sancto* (I, 42-45), St. Ambrose seems to admit with St. Basil that, absolutely speaking, it suffices for the validity and efficacy of baptism, to baptize in the name of Jesus, or in the name of one of the three divine Persons, provided the faith is sound, "*quia qui unum dixerit Trinitatem signavit.*"²⁶⁴

²⁶² *In psalm. CXVIII*, litt. III, 5. Cf. *In Matth.*, II, 4.

²⁶³ *De obitu Valentini*, 51-53.

²⁶⁴ "Si Christum dicas et Deum Patrem a quo unctus est Filius, et ipsum qui unctus est, Filium, et Spiritum sanctum quo unctus est designasti. . . Et si Patrem dicas, et Filium eius et Spiritum oris eius pariter indicasti; si tamen id etiam corde comprehendas. Et si Spiritum dicas, et Deum Patrem, a quo procedit Spiritus, et Filium, quia Filii quoque est Spiritus, nuncupasti" (*De Spir. Sancto*. I, 44).

We may remark in passing that at Milan and in Gaul, the ceremony of baptism was followed by the washing of the feet and that this rite was looked upon as remitting the *haereditaria peccata*, which meant probably some sort of a cleansing of the soul and a diminution of concupiscence.²⁶⁵

Outside the case of martyrdom and also, as St. Ambrose thinks and hopes, that of a sincere desire of receiving baptism, the baptism of water was deemed absolutely necessary for salvation.²⁶⁶ Without it, not even children — who, according to Zeno, receive its effects of grace,²⁶⁷ just as well as adults — can enter into the kingdom of heaven.²⁶⁸ Moreover, this baptism is one; once it has been validly administered, it cannot be renewed.²⁶⁹ Now the Council of Arles in the year 314 had decided against the Africans that, even when administered by heretics, baptism could not be renewed, if it had been imparted in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.²⁷⁰ However, the wording of the canon did not remove all difficulty, for one might ask whether sound faith in the Blessed Trinity, both on the part of the minister, and chiefly on the part of the recipient, was not required also for the existence and efficacy of the sacrament.²⁷¹ All granted that it was required for the efficacy of the sacrament; and we must interpret, at least to that extent, the text of St. Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, I, 42, where he declares the whole ceremony of baptism “empty,” if, although naming them, the minister detracts

²⁶⁵ AMBROSE, *De mysteriis*, 31, 32; *De sacramentis*, III, 4-7. Cf. above, the *iniquitas calcanei* of St. Ambrose.

²⁶⁶ AMBROSE, *In psalm. CXVIII*, sermo III, 14; *De mysteriis*, 20; *Epist.* VII, 20.

²⁶⁷ *Tract.* I, 13, 11; cf. II, 43, 1.

²⁶⁸ AMBROSE, *De Abraham*, II, 84.

²⁶⁹ ZENO, *Tract.* II, 36; AMBROSE, *In Lucam*, VIII, 78.

²⁷⁰ Canon 8.

²⁷¹ See the letter of Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona, *Epist.* I, 2, *P. L.*, XIII, col. 1133.

in his mind from the dignity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. But it may be that the Bishop of Milan goes further and, influenced by St. Basil, from whom he borrows the elements of his treatise, affirms that, in case of Trinitarian heresy on the part of the recipient or of the minister, the sacrament is not valid. We must not forget that validity and efficacy were not as yet clearly distinguished one from the other.

Baptism was, as a general rule, administered by the bishop; but often too, in country-churches, it was administered by ordinary priests and deacons.²⁷² Even little children could receive it.²⁷³ The writers of whom we are now speaking, enlarge chiefly upon its effects. It washes away our sins, strips us of the old man, clothes us with Jesus Christ and regenerates us; it makes us the temples of God and His children, imparts to us the Holy Ghost, confers immortality upon our bodies and gives us a share in the heavenly inheritance.²⁷⁴

The conferring of the Holy Ghost, however, was ascribed more especially to the rite of the imposition of hands and to that of the anointing with perfumed oil, which followed baptism and which is now called confirmation. The existence of that rite is attested by almost all the Latin writers of the 4th century. On leaving the baptismal *piscina*, the neophyte was first anointed with oil upon the head (vertical unction), then came before the bishop who laid his hand

²⁷² JEROME, *Dialog. contra luciferianos*, 9.

²⁷³ ZENO, *Tract.* I, 13, 11; SIRICIUS, *Epist.* I, 3.

²⁷⁴ HILARY, *In psalm.* LXIII, 11; LXVII, 30; LXV, 11; *In Matth.*, II, 6; X, 24; VICTORIN., *In epist. ad Galat.*, III, 27, col. 1173 B; IV, 19, col. 1184 B; ZENO, *Tract.* I, 12, 4; I, 13, 11; II, 14, 4; II, 27, 3; 40; 50; 63; PACIAN, *Sermo de baptismo*, 3, 6; AMBROSE, *In psalm.* CXVIII, sermo I, 17; *De Cain et Abel*, II, 10; *De interpellat. Iob*, II, 36; *De sacramentis*, III, 1, 2; JEROME, *Dialog. contra luciferianos*, 6; NICETA, *De symbolo*, 10.

upon him, while invoking the sevenfold Spirit, and traced on his forehead the sign of the cross with his thumb which he had previously dipped into the chrism.²⁷⁵ This ceremony had for its effect to perfect the new Christian "*quia post fontem superest ut perfectio fiat*,"²⁷⁶ to bring down the Holy Ghost upon him, to mark him with a mark, a character, "*signaculum*," that would produce in his soul the divine likeness.²⁷⁷ But, precisely because these effects were quite similar to those of baptism, St. Jerome found it difficult to justify the necessity of confirmation, nay, its existence. As a matter of fact, the Holy Ghost was certainly imparted by baptism, since in baptism sins could be forgiven only by the Holy Ghost. Hence, why should the bishop invoke the Holy Ghost again? St. Jerome was at a loss to give an answer. He alleged that this ceremony was meant to recall the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles after the Ascension, and that if this rite was currently used, it was more for the purpose of showing better the dignity and power of the episcopacy than because the rite itself was obligatory (*ad honorem potius sacerdotii quam ad legem necessitatis*).²⁷⁸ But in reality his ideas were confused: he did not distinguish the sanctifying action of the sacraments—an action which is referred to the Holy Ghost—from the special communication of this divine Person, which is the fruit of confirmation.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ OPTAT., IV, 7; PACIAN, *Sermo de baptismo*, 6; ZENO, *Tract.* II, 14, 4; AMBROSE, *De mysteriis*, 29, 30, 42; *De sacramentis*, I, 4; II, 24; III, 8-10; INNOCENT, *Epist.* XXV, 6 (*P. L.*, XX, 554). See DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 302 and foll. [English transl., p. 314 and foll.] The ceremony varied somewhat according as it was performed in agreement with the Roman or the Gallican rite.

²⁷⁶ *De sacramentis*, III, 8.

²⁷⁷ AMBROSE, *De mysteriis*, 42; *De Spiritu Sancto*, I, 78-80; *De sacramentis*, III, 8, 10.

²⁷⁸ *Dialog. contra luciferianos*, 6, 8, 9.

²⁷⁹ Here we may remark that, in the West and during the 4th century, the heretics who had been validly baptized outside the Church, con-

§ 9. The Eucharist.²⁸⁰

Any one who studies the Latin tradition of the 4th century cannot but notice the distinctness with which that tradition affirms the reality of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. In this point as in many others, the mind of the West is, as it were, determined and settled.

This does not mean that there are not found — especially in such erudite writers as St. Jerome — some antiquated and obsolete expressions. Thus, the chalice is full of the *type* of the blood of the Lord (*sanguinis eius impletur typus*); the Last Supper is the *type* of the Passion (*in typum suae passionis*); in the Eucharist, the body and blood of Jesus Christ are shown forth (*panis dominicus quo Salvatoris corpus ostenditur*), are represented (*repraesentaret*); this body is the Church here below “*quae accipitur in fide, benedicitur in numero, frangitur in passionibus*, etc.”²⁸¹ The fragment of the Canon given by the *De sacramentis* speaks also of the offering “which is the figure of the body and blood of Our Lord.”²⁸² But these expressions, which moreover can be satisfactorily explained, do not at all destroy the strength of the testimony which these same authors give in other places to the doctrine of the real presence. We shall consider this testimony somewhat later. For St. Optatus the altar is “*sedes et corporis et sanguinis Christi*”; chalices are “*Christi sanguinis portatores*.”²⁸³ St. Hilary had many opportunities of express-

continued to be reconciled only by means of the imposition of hands, accompanied with the invocation of the Holy Ghost (Council of Arles in the year 314, canon 8; SIRICIUS, *Epist.* I, 2, P. L., XIII, 1133).

²⁸⁰ P. BATIFFOL, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, 2d series, 3d edit., Paris, 1906. G. RAUSCHEN, *Eucharistie und Bussakrament in der ersten sechs Jahrhunderten der Kirche*, Freiburg im Br., 1908.

²⁸¹ *Adv. Iovinian.*, II, 17, cf. 5; *In Ieremiam*, XXXI, 10; *In Matth.*, XXVI, 26; *In Marc.*, XIV, 17 and foll. Cf. AMBROSIASTER, *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, XI, 26.

²⁸² *De sacramentis*, IV, 21.

²⁸³ VI, 1, col. 1065, 1066; VI, 2; cf. II, 19.

ing his views on this subject.²⁸⁴ His most important statements are found in the *De trinitate*, VIII, 13, 14, 16. In this passage he undertakes to prove that there is not only a moral union, but also a physical union, between the Son and the Father, and he deduces this from the physical and natural union between the Word and the humanity in the Incarnation, and from the physical and natural union between Jesus and us in Holy Communion. Jesus is in us as really as He became incarnate: "*Vere sub mysterio carnem corporis sui sumimus*"; then, after quoting John, VI, 56, 57, St. Hilary continues: "*De veritate carnis et sanguinis non relictus est ambigendi locus. Nunc enim et ipsius Domini professione et fide nostra vere caro est, et vere sanguis est. Et haec accepta atque hausta id efficiunt ut et nos in Christo, et Christus in nobis sit. Anne hoc veritas non est? . . . Est ergo in nobis ipse per carnem et sumus in eo.*" Victorinus and Zeno make a few rather superficial allusions to the subject of the real presence,²⁸⁵ whereas St. Ambrose, the author of the *De sacramentis* and St. Jerome speak on this subject as plainly as can be desired. The last author writes that the bishop and the priests "*Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt*";²⁸⁶ that, at the Last Supper, Our Lord was both "*ipse conviva et convivium, ipse comedens et qui comeditur,*"²⁸⁷ and that we receive in the Eucharist His body and blood.²⁸⁸

This body and this blood are, then, really present in the Eucharist. On two occasions St. Jerome seems to ascribe

²⁸⁴ For instance, *In Matth.*, XIV, 11; *In psalm.* CXXVII, 6; *Contra Constant. imperator.*, II.

²⁸⁵ VICTORIN., *Adv. Arium*, I, 30, col. 1063 B; II, 8, col. 1094 C; ZENO, *Tract.* II, 38; II, 53; I, 5, 8.

²⁸⁶ *Epist.* XIV, 8; LXIV, 5.

²⁸⁷ *Epist.* CXX, 2.

²⁸⁸ *In Matth.*, XXVI, 26; *Epist.* CXX, 2; LXXXII, 2; *In Ezechiel.*, XLI, 8 and foll.; *In Epist. ad Ephes.*, I, 7.

to the epiclesis at least some share in the consecration.²⁸⁹ On the contrary, St. Ambrose and the *De sacramentis* teach expressly that the words of the institution bring about the sacramental change;²⁹⁰ and what change? Both reply unhesitatingly: the change (*conversion*) of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus. This Eucharistic change is wrought by an infinite power; it results from a divine action. Hence we have not to ask ourselves how it is wrought, but merely to ascertain that this substantial change is not beyond the reach of God's creative and transforming power: "Forte dicas: Aliud video, quomodo tu mihi asseris quod Christi corpus accipiam? . . . Probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit, sed quod benedictio consecravit, maioremque vim esse benedictionis quam naturae; quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur;" and immediately after, St. Ambrose brings forward the instance of Moses' rod which was changed into a serpent, that of the water changed into blood, and several other miracles in which the properties of beings were modified; then he goes on to say:

"Quod si tantum valuit humana benedictio ut naturam converteret, quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina, ubi verba ipsa Domini Salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum istud quod accipis Christi sermone conficitur. Quod si tantum valuit sermo Eliae ut ignem de caelo deponeret, non valebit Christi sermo ut species mutet elementorum? . . . Sermo ergo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quae sunt in id mutare quod non erant? . . . Ipse clamat Dominus Iesus: *Hoc est corpus meum*. Ante benedictionem verborum caelestium alia species nominatur; post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur, post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis: *Amen*, hoc est, verum est. Quod os

²⁸⁹ *Epist.* CXLVI, 1; *In Sophon.*, III, 7.

²⁹⁰ AMBROSE, *De mysteriis*, 52, 54; *De sacramentis*, IV, 14, 23.

loquitur mens interna fateatur; quod sermo sonat affectus sentiat." ²⁹¹

The reader has probably noticed in these words this very plain affirmation of the substantial change: *Benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur . . . non valebit Christi sermo ut species mutet elementorum? . . . quae sunt in id mutare quod non erant.* The same precision is met with in the *De sacramentis*, whose author has very likely used and at times almost copied word for word the work of St. Ambrose.

"Tu forte dicis: Meus panis est usitatus. Sed panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum: ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. . . . Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Iesu ut inciperent esse quae non erant, quanto magis operatorius est ut sint quae erant, et in aliud commutentur. . . . Ergo didicisti quod ex pane corpus fiat Christi, et quod vinum et aqua in calicem mittitur: sed fit sanguis consecratione verbi caelestis. . . . Antequam consecratur, panis est; ubi autem verba Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi. . . . Et ante verba Christi calix est vini et aquae plenus: ubi verba Christi operata fuerint, ibi sanguis Christi efficitur, qui plebem redemit. Ergo videte quantis generibus potens est sermo Christi universa convertere." ²⁹²

We may, then, safely conclude that the teaching of the Church of Milan and of the churches dependent upon her, was very well defined by the end of the 4th century.²⁹³ St. Ambrose states this teaching with still more accuracy when he adds that the Eucharistic body of Jesus is truly His historical body: "*Et hoc quod conficimus corpus ex Virgine est. . . . Vera utique caro Christi quae crucifixa est, quae*

²⁹¹ AMBROSE, *De mysteriis*, 50-54.

²⁹² *De sacramentis*, IV, 14-16, 19, 23; cf. 25, VI, 2-4.

²⁹³ The difficulties which Loofs raises against the teaching of St. Ambrose from the *De fide*, IV, 124, and from the commentary on Psalm XXXVIII, 25, have no force. See BATIFFOL, *Op. cit.*, p. 289 and foll.

sepulta est: vere ergo carnis illius sacramentum est."²⁹⁴ Yet, this body is a *spiritual* food, for, as it is the body of Jesus, it is a spiritual body, the body of the Word who is a spirit.²⁹⁵ Here the Bishop of Milan has directly in view, not the mode of being of the body in the Eucharist, but rather the sanctifying efficacy of that same body.

It is also from St. Ambrose and the *De sacramentis* that we obtain the most information regarding communion, its conditions and effects. The *De sacramentis* recommends frequent, even daily communion, and reproves the Greeks for communicating only once a year.²⁹⁶ It was very likely in order not to be deprived of that divine food, that the faithful used to take it to their homes and preserve it there.²⁹⁷ This communion demands a preparation. While St. Jerome would require those who are married to abstain from the conjugal act,²⁹⁸ the other Fathers require at least the purity of soul; they insist on the condemnation which falls upon those who commit a sacrilege.²⁹⁹ As regards the fruits of communion, the first and the most important is that by means of the Savior's body we partake of His divinity: "*Quia idem Dominus noster Iesus Christus consors est et divinitatis et corporis: et tu, qui accipis carnem, divinae eius substantiae, in illo participaris alimento;*"³⁰⁰ then, communion gives us life, the supernatural life, eternal life; it remits our sins, makes us accomplish works of salvation and fills our souls with heavenly joy.³⁰¹

²⁹⁴ *De mysteriis*, 53.

²⁹⁵ *De mysteriis*, 58.

²⁹⁶ V, 25: "Accipe quotidie quod quotidie tibi prosit. Sic vive, ut quotidie merearis accipere." Cf. JEROME, *Epist.* XLVIII, 15.

²⁹⁷ ZENO, *Tract.* I, 5, 8.

²⁹⁸ *Epist.* XLVII, 15.

²⁹⁹ ZENO, *Tract.* I, 15, 6; AMBROSE, *De paenitentia*, II, 87; AMBROSIASTER, *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, XI, 27-29.

³⁰⁰ *De sacramentis*, VI, 4; cf. HILARY, *De trinit.*, VIII, 13.

³⁰¹ HILARY, *In psalm.* CXXVII, 10; AMBROSE, *De benedictionib. patriarcharum*, 39; *In Lucam*, X, 49; *De sacramentis*, V, 14-17.

The Eucharist is not only a sacrament, it is also a sacrifice, as is often proclaimed also by the Latin Fathers of the 4th century; ³⁰² it is well known that the *De sacramentis* contains a large portion of the Canon of the present Latin Mass (IV, 21, 22, 26, 27). The Eucharist is a sacrifice which priests consecrate daily; ³⁰³ a sacrifice which they offer, but which Jesus also offers by their hands; ³⁰⁴ lastly, a sacrifice in which Jesus is immolated, and which is the commemoration or reproduction of the sacrifice of the cross. ³⁰⁵

10. Penance ³⁰⁶ and the other Sacraments.

Two special 4th century treatises on the subject of penance are still extant: one is the *De paenitentia* of St. Ambrose, which was composed about the year 384, and the other, the *Libellus exhortatorius ad paenitentiam* of St. Pacian, to which his Ist and IIIId letters may be added. Other authors, however, particularly St. Hilary and St. Jerome, have dealt with the same topic, and it is by gathering together and using all the information which these various documents supply, that we can obtain at least some idea of the way in which penitential discipline was then conceived in the West.

The rigorist Novatians had claimed that some sins at least could not be atoned for, and that the Church could not forgive them. It is to a Novatian, Sympronianus, that Pacian sends his Ist and IIIId letters. The Saint teaches

³⁰² ZENO, *Tract.* I, 5, 8; I, 15, 6; AMBROSE, *In psalm.* CXVIII, sermo VIII, 48; *In Lucam*, VII, 43; JEROME, *In Matth.*, XXVI, 26; *Epist.* CXX, 2.

³⁰³ AMBROSE, *De bened. patriarch.*, 38.

³⁰⁴ AMBROSE, *In psalm.* XXXVIII, 25.

³⁰⁵ AMBROSIASTER, *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, XI, 23-26; JEROME, *Epist.* CXIV, 2; AMBROSE, *De fide*, IV, 124; *In Lucam*, I, 28.

³⁰⁶ See P. BATIFFOL, *Études d'Histoire et de théologie positive*, 1st series, 5th edit., pp. 145-160. G. RAUSCHEN, *Eucharistie und Buss sakrament in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten der Kirche*, Freiburg im Br., 1908.

that one can do penance and obtain forgiveness (I, 5); that all sins can be forgiven (III, 12); and that bishops can rightly grant this forgiveness, since they have received the power to bind and to loose (I, 6; III, 7), not indeed that they can do this as primary agents and by their own power, but in as much as they act as the ministers of God: "*Solus hoc, inquires, Deus poterit. Verum est, sed et quod per sacerdotes suos facit, ipsius potestas est*" (I, 6; III, 7). This power does not depend on their personal sanctity; it comes wholly *ex apostolico iure* (I, 7) and it is altogether distinct from the power of forgiving sins in baptism (III, 11).

These are also substantially the ideas of St. Ambrose. He, too, proves first against the Novatians the possibility and efficacy of penance, the power which priests have of forgiving sins;—a power which is simply borrowed, and in the exercise of which they are merely the instruments of God and of the Trinity: "*Ecce quia per Spiritum sanctum peccata donantur. Homines autem in remissionem peccatorum ministerium suum exhibent, non ius alicuius potestatis exercent. Neque enim in suo, sed in Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti nomine peccata dimittunt.*"³⁰⁷

These principles once laid down, the question arises, how must penance be done and by what means can the forgiveness of sins be obtained? On this subject, St. Pacian distinguishes in his *Libellus* between *peccata* and *crimina* (3). The *crimina*, which he calls also *capitalia*, *mortalia*, are the three sins *ad mortem*, *viz.*, apostasy, murder and fornication, and also, those less grievous faults which lead to them or are related to them, such as the advice to kill and impurity of whatever kind (4, 5). Now, ordinary sins can be remedied

³⁰⁷ *De Spiritu Sancto*, III, 137; *De paenit.*, I, 7, 36, 37; *In psalm. XXXVIII*, 37, 38; *CXVIII*, sermo X, 17; *De Cain et Abel*, II, 15. Cf. HILARY, *In Matth.*, XVIII, 8; JEROME, *Epist.* XIV, 8; *In Ecclesiasten*, XII, 4; *In psalm. XCV*, ap. MORIN, III, 2, p. 134.

by the opposite good works (4); but, as to the *crimina*, no one must approach the Eucharist, unless he has atoned for them. The first thing to do is to confess them: "*Desinite vulneratam tegere conscientiam*" (6-8; cf. 2, 9).

This is evidently a very important distinction, which, even though, as has been said, St. Pacian attaches a certain number of sins to the three mortal sins, limits considerably the subject-matter of the penitent's confession. St. Ambrose merely distinguishes between the *delicta leviora* and the *delicta graviora*. Sinners atone for the latter in public penance which is performed only once; the former must be atoned for daily. How? Probably by expiating them by means of good works: "*Bonis operibus saepe relevantur.*"³⁰⁸

The first act of official and public penance is, then, the avowal and confession of sins. St. Hilary speaks of it, as of something that is necessary and the best remedy for *morbi lethaliū vitiorum*; he defines it and says, moreover, that it includes the firm purpose of falling no more into sin: "*Confessio peccati professio est desinendi*;"³⁰⁹ but he says neither to whom nor how this confession is to be made. Zeno merely mentions it;³¹⁰ St. Pacian is no more explicit. It is to the writings of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome that we must again appeal for more information.

In many places of his writings the Bishop of Milan speaks in a general way of confession of sins.³¹¹ In the *De paenitentia*, II, 5, 53, 66, he still alludes to this confession made to God, whereas, in the *De paenitentia*, II, 91, he refers evidently to an avowal made to a man, an avowal that must cause some shame: "*An quisquam ferat ut erubescas*

³⁰⁸ *De paenitentia*, II, 95; cf. 104; *In psalm. XLIII*, 46.

³⁰⁹ *In psalm. CXXXVII*, 2, 3; *CXXXV*, 3; *CXVIII*, litt. III, 19; *CXXV*, 10.

³¹⁰ *Tract. II*, 39; *II*, 40.

³¹¹ *In psalm. XXXVII*, 56, 57, 42; *XL*, 14; *De paradiso*, 71.

Deum rogare qui non crubescis rogare hominem? Et pudeat te Deo supplicare quem non lates, cum te non pudeat peccata tua homini, quem lateas, confiteri?" On the whole, the text of the same treatise, II, 73, gives the distinct impression that this confession is made to the bishop: "*Ac primum da (Domine) ut condolere norim peccantibus affectu intimo . . . sed quotiescumque peccatum alicuius lapsi exponitur, compatiar: nec superbe increpem, sed lugeam et defleam.*" Of course, the word *exponitur* does not necessarily designate a confession properly so called; but its meaning can be cleared up by comparing the following passage of the life of St. Ambrose, written by Paulinus, his contemporary and probably also his secretary: "*Erat etiam (Ambrosius) gaudens cum gaudentibus, et flens cum flentibus; siquidem quotiescumque illi aliquis, ob percipiendam paenitentiam, lapsus suos confessus esset, ita flebat, ut et illum flere compelleret; videbatur enim sibi cum iacente iacere. Causas autem criminum quae illi confitebatur, nulli nisi Domino soli, apud quem intercedebat, loquebatur; bonum relinquens exemplum posteris sacerdotibus, ut intercessores apud Deum magis sint quam accusatores apud homines.*"³¹² From this account we learn three things: first, that the Bishop of Milan himself received the confession of penitents; then, that this was a detailed confession; lastly, that it was secret. Moreover, St. Ambrose himself confirms this last feature, when he remarks that, after asking for penance through fear of the future punishment, several "*publicae supplicationis revocantur pudore.*"³¹³ They are afraid, not of the avowal required for the determination of that *publica supplicatio*, but of the public character of the penance imposed upon them. Besides, Ambrose implies that "*occulta crimina*" are also matter of confession.³¹⁴ Hence we find in his writings the explicit

³¹² *Vita sancti Ambrosii*, 39 (P. L., XIV, col. 40).

³¹³ *De paenitentia*, II, 86.

³¹⁴ *De paenit.*, I, 90.

record of a detailed and secret confession of even occult grievous sins, made to the bishop — a 4th century Milanese discipline which anticipates quite well that of the Middle Ages. Likewise, St. Jerome attests its existence, chiefly as regards the detailed accusation made to bishops *and* to priests. It is the confessor's duty, "*cum peccatorum audierit varietates*," to decide which must be bound and which must be loosed.³¹⁵

The confession of sins was followed by the exomologesis or penance properly so called. Zeno merely mentions it;³¹⁶ St. Pacian, St. Ambrose and St. Jerome describe it in Tertullian's fashion. The penitent, who must remain outside the church, grasps the hands of the poor, entreats the widows and prostrates himself before the priests, begging their prayers and those of the community; he gives up his relations with the world, shortens his sleep and interrupts it with prayers and tears, covers himself with ashes, in a word, lives as though he were dead to the world.³¹⁷ By means of these works, the penitent really pays off the debt of expiation and satisfaction owed to God: "*Nemo pauper est qui Deo debet, nisi qui seipsum pauperem fecerit. Et si non habet quae vendat, habet quae solvat.*"—" *Oratio, lacrymae, ieiunia debitoris boni census est.*"³¹⁸ He must not think, however, that forgiveness is due to him *tanquam ex debito*. He can only hope for it, because, strictly speaking, he has not merited it: "*Aliud est enim mereri, aliud praesumere.*"³¹⁹

Finally, the last penitential act was the reconciliation of the penitent, the "*remissa peccatorum*," "*paenitentibus*

³¹⁵ *In Matth.*, XVI, 19; *In Ecclesiasten*, XII, 4.

³¹⁶ *Tract.* I, 10, 3; II, 14, 4.

³¹⁷ PACIAN, *Libellus exhortat.*, 9, 10, 12; AMBROSE, *De paenitentia*, I, 91; II, 46-50, 91, 92, 96; JEROME, *Epist.* LXXVII, 4.

³¹⁸ AMBROSE, *De paenit.*, II, 81.

³¹⁹ AMBROSE, *De paenit.*, II, 80.

cura,"³²⁰ which took place solemnly at Rome through the imposition of the bishop's hand.³²¹ This reconciliation had for its effect to bring back into the sinner the Holy Ghost who had departed from him, to restore him to the supernatural life and to reinstate him in the Church, by admitting him to communion.³²² But now the question arises, was the sentence which thus brought about reconciliation merely declaratory, or was it effective? In other words, did the bishop merely declare that, owing to the penitent's dispositions and the prayers offered by the Church in his behalf, his sins were forgiven him by God, or did the bishop himself remit the sins of the penitent, in virtue of the power he had received from Jesus? In a passage of his commentary on *Matthew*, XVI, 19,³²³ St. Jerome apparently looks upon the sentence as merely declaratory. His words are not decisive, however, and what he denies to priests is chiefly the power to judge arbitrarily, *i. e.*, to bind those who are without guilt and to loose those who are guilty. Elsewhere he grants that, in virtue of the power of the keys, clerics judge ahead of God,³²⁴ as it were; that the sentence enacted by the Apostles is confirmed by the divine sentence; and that, as a rule, all that they bind upon earth is bound also in heaven.³²⁵ St. Pacian, at any rate, is very explicit: bishops forgive sins evidently because of the power imparted to them by Jesus and in as much as they are His ministers; in any case they *do* really forgive sins and exercise a power, a right, the *ius apostolicum* given originally to the Apostles: "*Quod ego facio non meo iure sed Domini. . . . Quare*

³²⁰ ZENO, *Tract.* I, 16, 12; I, 50.

³²¹ JEROME, *Dialog. adv. lucifer.*, 5; *Epist.* LXXVII, 4.

³²² JEROME, *Dialog. adv. lucifer.*, 5; AMBROSE, *De paenit.*, I, 89, 90; II, 87.

³²³ And cf. *Dialog. adv. lucifer.*, 5; AMBROSE, *De Spiritu Sancto*, III,

137.

³²⁴ *Epist.* XIV, 8.

³²⁵ *In Matth.*, XIX, 18.

sive baptizamus, sive ad paenitentiam cogimus, seu veniam paenitentibus relaxamus, Christo id auctore tractamus."³²⁶

The precise point which we are now considering implied evidently a doctrinal determination to which theologians had not yet paid attention.

That Extreme Unction was used at Rome and in the exarchate of Ravenna, is proved in the year 416 by the XXVth letter of Innocent I to Decentius (n. 11).³²⁷ The Pope proves from *James*, V, 24, that not only priests, but all the faithful who are sick, can be anointed with the chrism (*oleo chrismatis*), consecrated by the bishop. Ordinarily priests administer that unction; but of course bishops can also impart it. As to penitents, they do not receive it, because this ceremony is a sort of sacrament (*quia genus est sacramenti*), and, as a rule, sacraments are denied to them.

The letter of Pope Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch in the year 251 shows that long before the 4th century the Church of Rome and generally the churches of the West recognized eight degrees in the ecclesiastical hierarchy: those of bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, lector, exorcist and *ostiarius*,³²⁸ the last five being in reality reduplications of the diaconate. However, the Ambrosiaster realized that this precise and clear-cut division of ecclesiastical offices did not fully correspond with what had existed in the beginnings of the Church, and, anxious as he was to find it in the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, IV, 11, 12, he granted that this could not be done without straining the text.³²⁹ On the other hand, probably Pope Damasus,³³⁰ and also Popes Si-

³²⁶ *Epist.* III, 7; I, 6, 7.

³²⁷ *P. L.*, XX, 559 and foll.

³²⁸ Cf. ST. JEROME, *In Epist. ad Titum*, II, 15.

³²⁹ *In Epist. ad Ephes.*, IV, 11, 12.

³³⁰ In the *Canones synodi romanorum ad Gallos episcopos* (*P. L.*, XIII, 1181, foll.), which is most likely a decretal letter of Pope Damasus. Cf. CH. BABUT, *La plus ancienne décrétale*, Paris, 1904.

ricius,³³¹ Innocent³³² and Zosimus,³³³ laid down precise rules regarding admission to the minor and to the major Orders. One of these rules is that clerics should have been married but once and to a virgin. Starting with deaconship, they must observe chastity.³³⁴ Nothing can be found about the ordination of inferior ministers;³³⁵ as we have seen already, the ordination of bishops, priests and deacons comprised the imposition of hands, accompanied with a prayer.³³⁶ Moreover, the superiority *iure divino* of the presbyterate over the diaconate and of the episcopate over the presbyterate was universally proclaimed. On the latter point, however, St. Jerome held another view. On the strength of those passages of the New Testament, which identify "episcopi" and presbyters, and of some customs of the Alexandrian Church, he thought that bishops were superior to ordinary priests, "*magis consuetudine quam dispositionis dominicae veritate*," and that it was merely for the purpose of preventing schisms that the Church at large had come to decide (*in toto orbe decretum est*) that only one member of the *presbyterium* was to be elected and henceforth to rule both the community and his former colleagues.³³⁷ It is but fair to observe that there is no record

³³¹ *Epist.* I, 13-15, 19; V, VI, (*P. L.*, XIII).

³³² *Epist.* II, III, XVII, XXXVII, XXXIX (*P. L.*, XX).

³³³ *Epist.* IX (*P. L.*, XX, col. 670, foll.).

³³⁴ Cf. AMBROSIASTER, *In Epist. I ad Timoth.*, III, 12, 13.

³³⁵ Cf. DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 339 [*Christian Worship*, p. 352]. We take no notice of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, a Gallican compilation of the beginning of the 6th century, often quoted under the title *Concilium Carthaginense quartum* (DENZINGER, *Enchiridion*, 50-58; new edition, 150-158).

³³⁶ JEROME, *In Isaiam*, LVIII, 10.

³³⁷ *Epist.* CXLVI; *In Epist. ad Titum*, I, 5. On this point, cf. P. BATIFFOL, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, 1st ser., 5th edit., p. 267 and foll. While he does not deny the superiority *iure divino* of the bishop over the priest, the Ambrosiaster affirms that at the beginning the episcopal dignity belonged by right to the oldest priest; and

whatever of this general decision and that St. Jerome's view has found no supporter.

Against the Manicheans, the Latin Fathers of the 4th century hold that marriage is morally good. Although they allow a second, and even a third marriage,³³⁸ yet generally they do not favor them. Zeno declares that a second wedlock is almost good, "*prope sanæ*"; and St. Jerome allows it, only on account of the evil consequences of incontinency.³³⁹ The nuptial blessing was not given to widows who remarried.³⁴⁰

Once it has been concluded, the marriage-bond cannot be dissolved except by the demise of one of the parties. This rule of the Latin discipline gains gradually more and more ground. Some have quoted against it a text of St. Hilary in his commentary on *Matthew*, IV, 22; but that text is not at all conclusive. In fact, the only writer who differs on this point from the common view is the Ambrosiaster. According to the practice of the Greeks, he grants to the husband the right to remarry, if he parts with his wife because of adultery, and he denies this right to the wife, if she parts with her husband, even when the latter is guilty of adultery or of apostasy.³⁴¹ While he does not treat the case of adultery in particular, St. Ambrose reproves absolutely any divorce whatever, and looks upon the marriage of the repudiated woman as an adultery.³⁴² St. Jerome

that later on a Council decided that "non ordo sed meritum crearet episcopum" (*In epist. ad Ephes.*, IV, 11, 12).

³³⁸ HILARY, *In psalm.* LXVII, 7; CXVIII, litt. XIV, 14; JEROME, *Epist.* CXXIII, 3, 4; XLVIII, 6; ZENO, *Tract.* I, 5, 4-6.

³³⁹ *Loc. cit.*

³⁴⁰ SIRICIUS, *Epist.* I, 13.

³⁴¹ *In Epist. I ad Cor.*, VII, 10, 11: "Et ideo non subiecit dicens, sicut de muliere, quod si discesserit, manere sic; quia viro licet ducere uxorem, si dimiserit uxorem peccantem: quia non ita lege constringitur vir sicut mulier; caput enim mulieris vir est."

³⁴² *In Lucam*, VIII, 4-7.

speaks still more categorically: adultery justifies separation; but it does not justify either party in contracting another marriage. Neither the husband nor the wife can remarry, and in case the latter does remarry, the man who marries her commits the sin of adultery.³⁴³ Pope Innocent gives the same rule.³⁴⁴

We witness also, besides the progress of the idea of the indissolubility of marriage, the first outline of the catalogue of those impediments which make marriage unlawful. Marriages of Christians with heathen and heretics are strongly condemned.³⁴⁵ If they marry, monks and virgins devoted to God by vow — whether these have received the veil or not — must submit to penance.³⁴⁶ No one is allowed to marry the affianced bride of another,³⁴⁷ or to marry his own sister-in-law, or aunt,³⁴⁸ or first cousin.³⁴⁹

§ II. Mariology. Honor paid to the Saints.

Christian Practices.³⁵⁰

Devotion to the Blessed Virgin had not reached in the 4th century the development which it attained later on; however, we find in Zeno and in St. Ambrose that parallel between Eve and Mary, which had become classical since the time of St. Justin and St. Irenæus, and also, chiefly in St. Ambrose, pages in honor of Mary, that will always appeal to Christian souls.³⁵¹ At any rate, the 4th century

³⁴³ *In Matth.*, XIX, 19.

³⁴⁴ *Epist.* VI, 12.

³⁴⁵ ZENO, *Tract.* I, 5, 7-9; AMBROSE, *De Abraham*, I, 14, 84; *Epist.* XIX, 2, 34; *In Lucam*, VIII, 2, 3.

³⁴⁶ *Canones synodi romanorum*, 3, 4; SIRIC., *Epist.* I, 7; INNOCENT, *Epist.* II, 15, 16.

³⁴⁷ SIRICIUS, *Epist.* I, 5.

³⁴⁸ *Canones synodi romanorum*, 12, 14.

³⁴⁹ AMBROSE, *Epist.* LX, 3.

³⁵⁰ We leave aside, for the time being, the subject of the veneration of images.

³⁵¹ ZENO, *Tract.* I, 2, 9; AMBROSE, *De institutione virginis*, 32, foll.; *De virginibus*, II, 6 and foll.

witnessed the development of those beliefs concerning the Mother of Jesus, which were to bring about the blossoming of the devotion, of which we are speaking. Her virginity *ante partum* had always been held; furthermore, during the 4th century, theologians and ecclesiastical writers in the Latin as well as in the Greek Church, proclaimed her virginity *in partu* and *post partum*. No doubt, the writings of Helvidius, Bonosus and Jovinian afforded to Christian theologians an opportunity for dwelling on that doctrine; but St. Hilary, who was unacquainted with those writings, had already taught the same thing. In his *De trinitate*, III, 19, he had written that Mary begot Jesus "*ipsa de suis non imminuta*"; and in his commentary on *Matthew*, I, 3, 4, he had opposed those who claimed³⁵² that, after the birth of Jesus, Mary had had marital relations with St. Joseph. Henceforth this became the teaching universally received: "*O magnum sacramentum! Maria virgo incorrupta concepit, post conceptum virgo peperit, post partum virgo permansit.*"³⁵³ The error of Helvidius, Bonosus and Jovinian did but call forth the fiery invective of St. Jerome,³⁵⁴ the more moderate, but very lofty protest of St. Ambrose,³⁵⁵ and the official condemnation of the Church.

With Mary, though beneath her, the saints are also honored. They have their feast-days and are invoked; temples and basilicas are erected in their honor; Pope Damasus composes metrical inscriptions for their tombs; Prudentius sings their triumphs; in a softer tone, St. Paulinus praises the dear St. Felix. But, up to the 5th century, these honors are paid to martyrs only. Furthermore,

³⁵² The Saint refers here probably to some unknown forerunners of Helvidius; for his commentary on *St. Matthew* is anterior to his exile in the East.

³⁵³ ZENO, *Tract.* II, 8, 2; 9, 1; 19, 20.

³⁵⁴ Cf. above, pp. 242, 245.

³⁵⁵ *De institutione virginis*, 35-62; *Epist.* LXIII, 33.

while the faithful honor the saints reigning in heaven, they venerate also their mortal remains. They are "*reliquiae sacrae*" of which the translation is made with solemnity.³⁵⁶ In this connection the criticisms of Vigilantius find but little echo. St. Jerome answers them with vigor,³⁵⁷ and at the same time states with minuteness the exact nature of the worship paid to martyrs and to their relics: "*Nos autem non dico martyrum reliquias, sed ne solem quidem et lunam, non angelos, non archangelos, non cherubim, non seraphim . . . colimus et adoramus. Honoramus autem reliquias martyrum, ut eum cuius sunt martyres adoremus. Honoramus servos, ut honor servorum redundet ad Dominum.*"³⁵⁸

The custom of praying in the liturgical service for the departed is attested by Zeno³⁵⁹ and often mentioned by St. Ambrose. Besides the suffrages that are offered up privately, a service is celebrated for the departed on the seventh and fortieth day after their death.³⁶⁰ Apostles and martyrs are invoked on their behalf; and according to St. Ambrose, these prayers and suffrages wash away the sins of the departed and hasten their final happiness.³⁶¹ Moreover, St. Jerome proves against Jovinian the meritorious character of fasting and abstinence.³⁶² But, outside religious practices strictly so called, what is most characteristic in the Christian life of the time, especially at the end of the 4th century, is a strong current of asceticism which carries the most devout souls to solitude or, still more often,

³⁵⁶ AMBROSE *Exhortatio virginitatis*, 1-10; PAULIN., *Vita sancti Ambrosii*, 14, 29, 32, 33.

³⁵⁷ *Contra Vigilantium*, 5, 6, 8; *Epist.* CIX, 2.

³⁵⁸ *Epist.* CIX, 1.

³⁵⁹ *Tract.* I, 16, 6.

³⁶⁰ AMBROSE, *De excessu fratris*, II, 2; *De obitu Valentiniani*; *De obitu Theodosii*, 3, 4.

³⁶¹ *De excessu fratris*, I, 5, 29; *De obitu Valentiniani*, 80; *In psalm.* CXVIII, sermo XX, 22 and foll.

³⁶² *Adv. Iovinianum*, II, 5-17.

to the practice of continency in the midst of the world. This current, which has always existed in greater or less degree in the Church, received at that time additional strength from the desire on the part of those souls to react against the moral mediocrity of the mass of the faithful in a Church which was now patronized by emperors; also, from what Rufinus, St. Jerome and St. Epiphanius reported of the wonders that were taking place in the monasteries of Egypt; from the fervent exhortations and examples of the great solitary of Bethlehem and of the saintly women who followed him, and from the eloquence of St. Ambrose, more persuasive on this than on any other subject. The Bishop of Milan, who may be called rightly the *doctor of virginity*, has left five treatises on the subject, and all know how successfully he has treated it.³⁶³ It is in his works especially that we notice the view which, ever since his time, has connected, in the Latin Church, the practice of virginity with the doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity. Once the superiority of continency over the married state had been established — St. Jerome was about to prove once more this superiority against Jovinian,³⁶⁴ — it seemed fitting that the Mother of Jesus should have ever remained a virgin; and, in its turn, the example of perfect purity given by Mary became an additional motive for valuing and practising that virtue. “*Egregia igitur Maria quae signum sacrae virginitatis extulit, et intemeratae integritatis pium Christo vexillum erexit. Et tamen cum omnes ad cultum virginitatis sanctae Mariae advocentur exemplo, fuerunt qui eam negarent virginem perseverasse.*” “*Aliis promittit (Christus) ut non deficient: matrem suam deficere patiebatur? Sed non deficit Maria, non deficit virginitatis magistra.*”³⁶⁵

³⁶³ AMBROSE, *De virginibus*, I, 57–59.

³⁶⁴ *Adv. Iovinianum*, I, *per totum*.

³⁶⁵ AMBROSE, *De institut. virginis*, 35, 45.

§ 12. Eschatology.

When surveying the eschatological teaching of the Greek theologians during the 4th century, the reader has noticed a certain hesitation due to Origen's influence. The same phenomenon is met with in the Latin theology of that time. St. Jerome at first intensely admired Origen, and St. Ambrose had largely drawn from the Alexandrian sources. It was chiefly Rufinus, however, who by his translation of the *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, in the year 397, contributed to spread abroad in the West the Origenist doctrines. According to St. Jerome's remark, Rufinus corrected in this translation the errors on the Trinity, that would have given offence to his Roman readers; but he left unamended, nay, made still worse, by means of commentaries taken from Didymus, what Origen had written, "*de angelorum ruina, de animarum lapsu, de resurrectionis prodigiis, de mundo, vel intermundiis Epicuri, de restitutione omnium in aequalem statum, et multo his deteriora.*"³⁶⁶

As is evident, Jerome refers to the solutions given by Origen to the problem of the fall of the angels and of souls, to the problem of the inequality of the actual conditions of mankind, and also to that of the mode of the future resurrection, of the duration of the pains of hell, and of the final restoration of all rational beings to God's happiness and friendship. Whether Rufinus willed it or not, these solutions of Origen soon found, even at Rome, many supporters among priests and monks, and especially among the laity.³⁶⁷ People would question God's justice and ask why some children are born of Christian parents, whereas others come to this life in the midst of nations that have no knowledge of God.³⁶⁸ Women would object that, if they must arise

³⁶⁶ *Apologia adv. libr. Rufini*, I, 6, 7.

³⁶⁷ JEROME, *Epist.* LXII, 2; LXXXV, 3; CXXVII, 9; ANASTASIUS, *Epist.* I, 3 (*P. L.*, XX, 69).

³⁶⁸ JEROME, *Epist.* LXXX, 16.

with their own bodies, it would be useless for them to arise at all from the dead, and would affirm that, then, they shall be like angels.³⁶⁹ St. Jerome, who has left us these details, says elsewhere that most persons — these were of course exegetes — saw in Nabuchodonosor doing penance, a figure of Satan after he has been converted at the end of ages and restored to his former place; and also that most persons understood metaphorically what Scripture says of the undying worm and of the inextinguishable fire.³⁷⁰ As to the universality of salvation, we learn from St. Augustine the diverse views — all of them excessive — which were current among the faithful about the year 420. Some thought that for all men without exception the pains of hell were to be only temporary; others, that all men would be saved at least through the intercession of the saints; others declared that all those who, even though they were heretics, had been baptized and had received the body of the Lord, would certainly be saved; others promised the same reward to all those who had received these two sacraments in the Catholic Church, even though they had afterwards fallen into heresy and apostasy, so that their wickedness, “*quanta maior fuerit, non eis valeat ad aeternitatem, sed ad diuturnitatem magnitudinemque poenarum;*” others promised salvation to all those who remained Catholics, even though they led wicked lives. They were to be saved through fire, because of the foundation on which they had built. Others consigned to eternal punishment only those sinners who, while leading sinful lives, had neglected to give alms, whereas the other sinners were to be delivered sooner or later.³⁷¹ These opinions were held in the name of God’s

³⁶⁹ JEROME, *Epist.* LXXXIV, 6.

³⁷⁰ *In Ionam*, III, 6, foll.; *In Isaiam*, LXVI, 24. Cf. ST. AUGUSTINE, *De civit. Dei*, XX, 22; XXI, 9, 2; 10, 2.

³⁷¹ AUGUSTINE, *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 17–22; cf. *De fide et operibus*, I, 21, foll.; *Enchiridion*, LXVII, CXII; *In psalm.* LXXX, 20; *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*, I.

mercy, and of the redeeming efficacy of the true faith in Jesus; ³⁷² and they were held by many Christians (*nonnulli, imo quam plurimi*).³⁷³ They were spread not only in Italy, but also in Spain. Orosius seems to have shared the view of those who thought that all Christians would certainly be saved.³⁷⁴

However, there arose gradually, against the gravest of those errors, a reaction which belongs to the general history of the Origenist controversies. It is true that, from a dogmatic point of view, these controversies have not much importance, especially in the East, where they were due chiefly to personal rivalries; but their effects were felt in the Latin Church. Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, who, after favoring Origen's disciples, became their opponent, succeeded in having his doctrine condemned in a Council of Alexandria in the year 399, prevailed upon St. Epiphanius to do likewise in a Council of Cyprus, in the year 399 or 401, and entered into correspondence with St. Jerome for the purpose of persuading him to translate into Latin his own paschal and synodal letters on the subject. St. Jerome, who was then just as hostile to Origen as he had been favorable to him before, acquiesced in the views of Theophilus.³⁷⁵ These writings drew public attention to the dangers to which faith was exposed, and, in the year 400, Origen's teachings were condemned by Pope Anastasius, while the Emperor forbade the reading of his books.³⁷⁶ Unfortunately we do not know what errors were condemned, nor whether a selection had been made among the

³⁷² *Enchiridion*, CXII; *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 26, 1; 24, 3.

³⁷³ *Enchiridion*, CXII; in ch. LXVII, St. Augustine says that the doctrine of the salvation of all Catholics is believed *a quibusdam*; he may refer only to the leaders of the party.

³⁷⁴ *De arbitrii libertate*, 16 (*P. L.*, XXXI, 1185); *Commonitorium*, 3.

³⁷⁵ As regards St. Jerome's attitude in this affair, see letters XCII, XC, LXXXVI and foll.

³⁷⁶ ANASTASIUS, *Epist.* I and II (*P. L.*, XX).

Origenist teachings. It is likely that the opinions regarding the preëxistence of souls, the final restoration of the devil, and the mode of the resurrection, were the only ones condemned; for we see the other doctrines held, even after this condemnation. Origen's influence was, then, intensely felt in Latin eschatology during the last quarter of the 4th, and at the beginning of the 5th century. We are going to see to what extent it affected the official representatives of theology, the authors whose teachings we are now presenting.

The views of Origen do not seem to have affected St. Hilary and Zeno, at least to any considerable extent. Their eschatology may be summed up as follows: immediately after death, all souls go down to limbo; but they have evidently to undergo a provisional judgment, for the just begin to rest in Abraham's bosom, whereas the wicked are punished by fire:³⁷⁷ "*pro qualitate factorum quasdam locis poenalibus relegari, quasdam placidis sedibus refoveri.*"³⁷⁸ This state of things will last till the end of the world. When this end comes—and it is fast coming, since Antichrist has already appeared³⁷⁹—Moses and Elias will proclaim the parousia, and the dead, all the dead will arise.³⁸⁰ But not all will be judged; for the just as well as public infidels and profligates need not be judged; besides, they have been already judged in a certain way, since they have been already dealt with according to their deserts. So ordinary sinners only, that is, those Christians who have

³⁷⁷ HILARY, *In psalm.* CXXXVIII, 22; LI, 22; CXXII, 11; CXX, 16; LVII, 5, 7; II, 48; PACIAN, *Exhortat. libellus*, II, col. 1088 D.

³⁷⁸ ZENO, *Tract.* I, 16, 2; II, 21, 3. From this text it seems as though Zeno delays the definite happiness of the just; elsewhere, however, he seems to place it immediately after death (*Tract.* I, 3, 4; I, 16, 14; II, 13, 4).

³⁷⁹ HILARY, *Contra Auxentium*, 5.

³⁸⁰ HILARY, *In Matth.*, XX, 10; *In psalm.* LXII, 3; ZENO, *Tract.* I, 16, 1, 6, 7, 11.

led bad lives, will be judged.³⁸¹ Then the elect and the reprobate will be separated. The bodies of the latter will not undergo that "*demutatio*" which would make them glorious; but they will be without consistence, like dust and water.³⁸² Clad with them, the damned will return "*in infima terrae*" whence they came, "*terreni et in dedecoris corpore.*"³⁸³ Their pains in the fire of hell will be eternal; impenitent profligates and sinners will be tortured severely:³⁸⁴ "*Ipse sibi materiam recrescentium corporum reparat ignis aeternus.*"³⁸⁵

The fate of the elect will be altogether different: their bodies will be transformed. At times St. Hilary seems to conceive this transformation as though it implied an annihilation of matter in God. The bodies of the blessed become not only incorruptible and unchangeable; they become also spiritual and like to the angels; the elect are gods, in whom the divine form has absorbed the earthly flesh, "*cum incorruptio corruptionem, et aeternitas infirmitatem, et forma Dei formam terrenae carnis absorpserit.*"³⁸⁶ However the Saint affirms very explicitly in one place the permanence and material nature of the bodies of the elect, and their identity before and after the resurrection: "*ut corruptibilium corporum in incorruptionis gloriam resurrectio non interitu naturam perimat, sed qualitatis conditione demutet. Non enim aliud corpus, quamvis in aliud resurget. . . . Fit ergo demutatio, sed non offertur abdicatio. Et cum id quod fuit in id quod non fuit surgit, non amisit ori-*

³⁸¹ HILARY, *In psalm.* I, 15-18 (cf. 1-3); LVII, 7; ZENO, *Tract.* I, 21, 1-3.

³⁸² HILARY, *In psalm.* I, 14.

³⁸³ HILARY, *In psalm.* CXXXI, 28; LV, 7; LXIX, 3.

³⁸⁴ HILARY, *In Matth.*, V, 12; *In psalm.* LIV, 14; ZENO, *Tract.* II, 21, 3.

³⁸⁵ PACIAN, *Exhort. libellus*, II, 12.

³⁸⁶ *In psalm.* I, 13; LXVII, 35; LXVIII, 31; CXX, 14; CXXXV, 5; CXVIII, litt. III, 3; *In Matth.*, X, 20; XXXIII, 4.

ginem, sed profecit ad honorem."³⁸⁷ This is also the teaching of Zeno of Verona.³⁸⁸

Being thus transformed, the elect — both the just and the penitent sinners — receive the crown. They enjoy an unceasing happiness, which the authors of whom we are speaking, are fond of describing.³⁸⁹ However, this happiness is not the same for all: for there are various mansions in the Father's house. Jesus Christ and the Apostles, whom He wills to be with Him, are the only ones who, properly speaking, dwell together in God.³⁹⁰

Archaic as some features of this eschatology may be, still it does not betray much of Origen's influence, which in fact does not seem to have been predominant in the West till about the year 380. We shall find it more evident in the writings which we have still to examine.

The Ambrosiaster wrote under Damasus, that is to say at the latest, in the year 384. For him, the fall of the Roman Empire is to mark the end of the world. Antichrist will then appear; he will be brought to naught by the divine power,³⁹¹ and for a thousand years (*extincto antichristo*), Jesus will reign over the saints.³⁹² This will be followed by the general resurrection. Like St. Hilary and, in fact, like all contemporary writers, the Ambrosiaster divides men into three classes: the *saints* or the *just*, whose works have been in harmony with their Christian belief; *sinners*, *i. e.*, Christians who have led evil lives, and the *wicked*, a word which designates apostates, heathen and atheists. All will rise again, but neither the saints nor the wicked will be

³⁸⁷ *In psalm.* II, 41; LV, 12.

³⁸⁸ *Tract.* I, 16, 10, 14; cf. VICTORIN., *In epist. ad Philipp.*, III, 21, col. 1226, 1227.

³⁸⁹ HILARY, *In Psalm.* I, 13; LX, 6, 7; CXLVII, 3, 6; ZENO, *Tract.* I, 9, 6; I, 21, 3.

³⁹⁰ HILARY, *In psalm.* LXIV, 5, 17, 18.

³⁹¹ *In epist. II ad Thessalon.*, II, 8, 9.

³⁹² *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, XV, 52.

judged, since their case presents no difficulty whatever. Sinners alone will undergo the judgment. The saints, whose bodies will be transformed, will enter into everlasting glory; the wicked will be cast into endless torments.³⁹³ As for sinners, even teachers of false doctrine who have remained Christians, they will be condemned to fire, but only for a while. One day, their punishment shall come to an end, "*soluta debito.*" They are not "*perituri,*" but "*purgandi per ignem,*" and why? Simply because they must receive some reward for having believed in Christ, "*ut ex aliqua parte operae pretium sit credidisse in Christum.*"³⁹⁴ The Ambrosiaster extends this privilege even to the fallen angels. Referring to *Ephes.*, III, 10, he affirms that St. Paul has been chosen to bring the mysteries of God's wisdom to the knowledge of the heavenly principalities and powers, "*ut praedicatio ecclesiastica etiam his proficiat, et deserant assensum tyrannidis diaboli.*" He seems to extend it even to the philosophers who have known God by the light of reason. In fact, idolaters alone have sinned, in the strict sense, "*in similitudinem praevaricationis Adae,*" and have become, properly speaking, subject to death. As to others, who have known God, "*sive ex traduce, sive ex indicio naturali,*" and who have honored Him, though they have sinned, they have sinned "*sub Deo*" and not "*in Deum,*" whom they knew to be their judge. Therefore their faults admit of some excuse.³⁹⁵

Thus the Ambrosiaster holds that the punishment of sinners who are Christians will be temporary; in other words, he holds the doctrine of the salvation of all Christians by faith. We shall find the same doctrine in St. Jerome.

St. Jerome's attitude towards Origen is altogether dif-

³⁹³ *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, XV, 51-53.

³⁹⁴ *In epist. I ad Corinth.*, XV, 53; III, 10-15; *In epist. ad Roman.*, V, 14; *In epist. II ad Timoth.*, II, 20.

³⁹⁵ *In epist. ad Roman.*, V, 14.

ferent, according as we consider it before or after the year 394. *Before* that year, he is a most enthusiastic admirer of Origen, whom he calls "*alterum post apostolos ecclesiae doctorem scientiae ac sapientiae.*"³⁹⁶ He does not admire the great Alexandrian in general only; in spite of his denials,³⁹⁷ it must be granted that he approves or declares admissible some of the most questionable opinions of Origen: that the blood of Jesus was profitable to the fallen angels and those already in hell;³⁹⁸ that the damned, except the devil would finally be restored,—through penance, to the friendship of God (*omnibus per paenitentiam in integrum restitutis, solus diabolus in suo permanebit errore*);³⁹⁹ even perhaps the final salvation of the devil himself (*ut angelus refuga id esse incipiat quod creatus est*);⁴⁰⁰ the disappearance of the material bodies of the elect at the resurrection, these elect becoming altogether spiritual.⁴⁰¹ *After* the year 394, St. Jerome discarded or strongly opposed these same views. He reproved the doctrine of universal salvation and final restoration,⁴⁰² and proclaimed the identity of the risen body with the actual body.⁴⁰³ However, he continued to admit the possibility of some mitigation of the torments of the demons.⁴⁰⁴ He continued especially to hold

³⁹⁶ *De principiis, prologus Rufini.*

³⁹⁷ And note: these denials are at times accompanied with half-acknowledgments (*Epist. LXXXIV, 3, 6*).

³⁹⁸ *In epist. ad Ephesios*, IV, 10; I, 23; II, 15; III, 10. The work was composed in 387–389.

³⁹⁹ *In Ecclesiasten*, I, 15. This work was also composed in 387–389.

⁴⁰⁰ *In Epist. ad Ephes.*, IV, 16. Later on, St. Jerome, in order to defend himself, claimed (*Apologia adv. lib. Rufini*, I, 26, 27) that he had merely quoted Origen. But this is not very clear.

⁴⁰¹ *In epist. ad Ephesios*, V, 29; *Adv. Iovinianum*, I, 36.

⁴⁰² *In Isaiam*, XIV, 20; *In Ionam*, III, 6, foll.; *In Daniel.*, III, 96. The commentary on Isaias dates from 408–410; that on Jonas, from 395–396; and that on Daniel, from 407 or so.

⁴⁰³ *Liber contra Ioann. hierosolym.*, 30. This work dates from 399.

⁴⁰⁴ *In Isaiam*, XXIV, 21, foll.

that all Christians were ultimately to be saved, and that the punishment of ordinary sinners was not to be everlasting. This is the conclusion of his commentary on *Isaias*, LXVI, 24. Satan and the wicked, apostates and atheists will suffer eternally. Sinners who are Christians will be cleansed, and their sentence will be tempered with mercy: "*Et sicut diaboli et omnium negatorum atque impiorum qui dixerunt in corde suo: Non est Deus, credimus aeterna tormenta: sic peccatorum (atque impiorum)* ⁴⁰⁵ *et tamen christianorum, quorum opera in igne probanda sunt atque purganda, moderatam arbitramur et mixtam clementiae sententiam iudicis;*" and still more explicitly in the *Epistula* CXIX, 7, written about the end of the year 406: "*Qui enim tota mente in Christo confidit, etiamsi ut homo lapsus, mortuus fuerit in peccato, fide sua vivit in perpetuum. Alioqui mors ista communis et credentibus et non credentibus debetur aequaliter; et omnes pariter resurrecturi sunt, alii in confusionem aeternam, alii, ex eo quod credunt, in sempiternam vitam.*" ⁴⁰⁶

There are other features of St. Jerome's eschatology, which it is worth while to notice. Whereas he admits that on departing from their bodies, the souls of the just enter immediately into heaven,⁴⁰⁷ he does not think that the pains of hell are to begin before the general judgment. Meanwhile, the souls of the guilty suffer; they suffer like a brigand enchained in a dungeon, who foresees his coming torture.⁴⁰⁸ Moreover, St. Jerome is opposed to millenarianism.⁴⁰⁹ He declares that we cannot know with ac-

⁴⁰⁵ These two words, which are lacking in one MS., are evidently superfluous.

⁴⁰⁶ And cf. *Adv. Iovinian.*, II, 30; *Dialog. adv. pelagianos*, I, 28.

⁴⁰⁷ *Epist.* XXIII, 3; XXXIX, 3.

⁴⁰⁸ Compare *In Daniel.*, VII, 9; *Epist.* XXXIX, 3 and *In Lucam*, XVI (MORIN, III, 2).

⁴⁰⁹ *In Isaiam*, I, 1; XIII, 18.

curacy what the pains of hell will be; ⁴¹⁰ but, he does not seem to have shared the opinion of Origen, who looked upon the fire of hell merely as an image of the remorse felt by the consciences of the damned. ⁴¹¹

It is from St. Ambrose's writings that we gather the most complete eschatological data, and it is in his writings that it behooves us to study them, since, on account of his position, he is the most authoritative exponent of Latin theology at the end of the 4th century. On the other hand, it is impossible to bring together into an harmonious synthesis several features of that eschatology. There is no clue to guide us, and scholars are at times at a loss as to what order to follow in the arrangement of otherwise excellent materials. The reader will do well to remember this, when going over this attempt at reconstruction.

Death is a blessing, for it puts an end to sin and ushers us into a better state (*in melius reparari*). ⁴¹² As we have seen, this is the opinion of Methodius of Olympus. In fact, the soul not only outlives the body, but through its separation from the body, it acquires new vigor (*vigor nobis novus infunditur*). ⁴¹³ What becomes of it?

Basing his opinion on the 4th Book of Esdras, St. Ambrose represents souls, on leaving their bodies, as received into higher dwellings, *promptuaria*, where they stay till the end of ages. However, they have already undergone some sort of judgment, for they have not the same destiny: "*alias manet poena, alias gloria; et tamen nec illae interim sine iniuria, nec istae sine fructu sunt*;" the souls of the just enjoy already by anticipation the reward which they have deserved; the souls of the wicked suffer from the divine

⁴¹⁰ *In Isaiam*, XXIV, 21.

⁴¹¹ *Epist.* CXXIV, 7; *In epist. ad Ephesios*, V, 6; cf. *In Isaiam*, LXVI, 24.

⁴¹² *De bono mortis*, 7; *De excessu fratris*, I, 70.

⁴¹³ *De excessu fratris*, II, 3.

wrath which they know is to chastise them.⁴¹⁴ Some of these souls, however, have already entered into paradise. The Holy Doctor affirms it expressly of St. John the Evangelist (*in paradiso est, nec separatur a Christo*),⁴¹⁵ and the same privilege must be extended, as was done by most writers of old, to the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs of both Testaments, even to some holy men of the New Testament who belong to none of these categories.⁴¹⁶

This state of things will last till the end of the world. Although St. Ambrose usually declares that the precise time of that end is unknown to men, still personally he thinks it is near at hand.⁴¹⁷ It will be marked by times of impiety and wickedness. Antichrist, distinct from Satan whose instrument he is, will then appear and bring about the triumph of error.⁴¹⁸ But then also Jesus Christ will come in the clouds, and the dead will arise.⁴¹⁹ St. Ambrose distinguishes carefully two resurrections between which he sets an interval;⁴²⁰ from this, however, we are not to infer that he is a millenarian. The second of these two resurrections may be only metaphorical: it signifies that, after the time of trial, those who have been cleansed of their faults enter into heaven. The resurrection implies the identity of the subject who was dead and who now receives a new life (*nisi forte ne alius resuscitatus pro alio videretur*);⁴²¹ it implies also a transformation of the bodies of the just which St. Ambrose seems at times to push to the extreme held by

⁴¹⁴ *De bono mortis*, 45-48.

⁴¹⁵ *In psalm. CXVIII*, sermo XX, 12.

⁴¹⁶ *De fide*, IV, 8; *De excessu fratris*, II, 94; *In Lucam*, VII, 5; X, 12; *Epist.* XV, 4, 8.

⁴¹⁷ *De fide*, II, 137; V, 212; *De excessu fratris*, I, 30.

⁴¹⁸ *In Lucam*, X, 16, 19.

⁴¹⁹ *De excessu fratris*, II, 52, foll.; *Hexaameron*, V, 78, 79.

⁴²⁰ *In psalm. I*, 54.

⁴²¹ *De excessu fratris*, II, 77, 68.

Origen,⁴²² although on the whole he maintains it within proper limits: "*Immutabuntur enim iusti in incorruptionem, manente corporis veritate.*"⁴²³

The resurrection is followed by the judgment. As a matter of fact, all will be judged, or the sentence of all will be confirmed. However, the Bishop of Milan, using the language that was current in his time, declares that neither the *just*, nor the *wicked* — the heathen and apostates — will be judged: — the former, because they will have nothing to fear from the rigor of the judgment, the latter, because, according to St. John, they are already judged. The only ones to be judged, that is, examined, are the *sinner*s, those Christians whose faith and works have not agreed.⁴²⁴ To them we must add Satan, whose judgment and torment are deferred until then, and who meanwhile roams about upon earth.⁴²⁵

Moreover, that judgment is accompanied or immediately followed by the trial of fire. There lies before the risen ones a fire, which all must absolutely go through. This is the baptism of fire, predicted by St. John the Baptist, "*in Spiritu Sancto et igne;*" or the fiery sword of the Cherub who guards paradise, and by which all must be tried: "*Omnes igne examinabuntur.*" "*Omnes oportet per ignem probari quicumque ad paradysum redire desiderant.*" "*Omnes,*" Ambrose does not except Jesus Christ Himself, nor the Apostles; those saints who have already entered into heaven, have entered only after passing through the fire of the judgment.⁴²⁶ However, the effect of this fire upon those who go through it, differs, according to their respective moral condition; and that difference is so great that, in one

⁴²² *In Lucam*, VII, 94.

⁴²³ *In psalm*. I, 51; *In Lucam*, X, 168, 170.

⁴²⁴ *In psalm*. I, 51, 54, 56.

⁴²⁵ *De fuga saeculi*, 39; *In psalm*. CXVIII, sermo XX, 22, 23.

⁴²⁶ *In psalm*. CXVIII, sermo III, 14-16; sermo XX, 12-14; *In psalm*. XXXVI, 26.

passage, the Holy Doctor distinguishes two kinds of fire,—one, properly speaking, a purifying fire for slight sins, the other, an avenging fire for more grievous sins, which is the same as the fire prepared for the devil and his angels.⁴²⁷ This distinction is not repeated everywhere, however,⁴²⁸ and we may reasonably believe that the very same fire, in its heights, purifies the just, and in its depths, punishes the wicked. At any rate, all, as has been said, go through the fire of judgment. The wicked and apostates, “*sacrilegi qui superba in Deum iactare convicia*,” are caught by it, as by an avenging fire which keeps hold of them: “*Alii in igne remanebunt . . . ministros autem impietatis ultor ignis exuret*,” they are thrust into the lake of burning fire.⁴²⁹ For the just made perfect, on the contrary, this fire is like a refreshing dew: they are like unalloyed silver, in which is no lead to be eliminated. Such were the Apostles: “*Ioanni (evangelistæ) cito versabitur igneus gladius; quia non invenitur in eo iniquitas quem dilexit aequitas*.”⁴³⁰ As to ordinary Christians, either their good works exceed their faults, in which case their suffering in this trial of fire, which will be in proportion to their faults, will be comparatively short, God having provided for their being chastised beforehand, their deliverance will be quick: “*Absolutio enim natura sanctorum est*.” “*Praesto est venia*.”⁴³¹ Or—and these are the most numerous,⁴³²—their sins exceed their good works, and they will share, at least for a while, in the punishment of the wicked and of the apostate: they will be bound in the same fire and purified, like common lead which contains but little silver.⁴³³

⁴²⁷ *In psalm. CXVIII, sermo III, 17.*

⁴²⁸ *In psalm. XXXVI, 26.*

⁴²⁹ *In psalm. XXXVI, 26.*

⁴³⁰ *In psalm. CXVIII, sermo XX, 12, 13; XXXVI, 26.*

⁴³¹ *In psalm. CXVIII, sermo XX, 22, foll.; Epist. II, 16.*

⁴³² *In psalm. XL, 7.*

⁴³³ *In psalm. CXVIII, sermo XX, 13; sermo II, 15.*

What will be the exact nature of their sufferings? These sufferings will comprise first exclusion from the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and separation from God and from the elect;⁴³⁴ they will also include actual chastisements. In his commentary on *Luke* (VII, 204, 205), St. Ambrose, following in Origen's footsteps, explains metaphorically the fire, the worm, the gnashing of teeth, the exterior darkness, the remorse, the despair and the interior darkness of the damned. It must not be ignored, however, that elsewhere he has represented hell as a lake of fire, and the punishment of the damned as torture by fire.⁴³⁵ Probably St. Ambrose's mind was not fully settled on this point and he therefore lacked consistency.

There is one point, however, on which he is very consistent and that is the respective duration of these punishments. The devils and the wicked — heathen and apostates — are to be punished for ever. They will not be annihilated, their chastisement will be without end.⁴³⁶ The case is not the same with ordinary sinners. For them justice is accompanied with mercy. Although they are far from salvation, still they are not altogether separated from it. "Their faith will help them, and obtain for them forgiveness, although there is injustice in their works." They will be saved through their faith, "*sic tamen salvi quasi per ignem,*" and this is why they will be burned, but not consumed (*si non exurimur, tamen uremur*). "*Omnes enim qui sacrosanctae Ecclesiae copulati, divini nominis appellatione censentur praerogativam resurrectionis et delectationis*

⁴³⁴ In *psalm*. XXXIX, 17; *De Nabuthe*, 16, 18; *De excessu fratris*, II, 11.

⁴³⁵ *De fide*, II, 119; In *psalm*. XXXVI, 26; *De Nabuthe*, 52.

⁴³⁶ In *psalm*. I, 47, foll.; CXVIII, sermo III, 17; sermo VIII, 58; sermo XXI, 8; *De bono mortis*, 41; *De paradiso*, 71; *De fide*, II, 119; *De paenitentia*, I, 22.

aeternae gratiam consequentur."⁴³⁷ The punishment of condemned sinners, then, will be temporary and will have an end. Does St. Ambrose state their duration? Yes, he does in a general way: he writes for instance: "*Qui autem non veniunt ad primam resurrectionem, sed ad secundam reservantur, isti urentur donec impleant tempora inter primam et secundam resurrectionem, aut si non impleverint, diutius in supplicio permanebunt.*"⁴³⁸ Some scholars have seen in these words a trace of millenarianism, which the Holy Doctor did not develop. On the other hand, it is certain that, according to him, the resurrection must take place according to a definite order. It will involve four or five distinct moments.⁴³⁹ Finally it is also possible that by the words, second resurrection, he means the attaining by the more perfect Christians of complete happiness.⁴⁴⁰ This attainment will take place at a definite time, and the punishment of sinners will last at least until then.

As a matter of fact, St. Ambrose holds that the elect, at least the ordinary elect, will not be immediately admitted to the full enjoyment of heavenly bliss. The resurrection constitutes the first kingdom of God, to be with Christ constitutes the second; but, in this second kingdom, there will be a "*processus mansionum*," not only because each one will be rewarded in proportion to his merits,⁴⁴¹ but also because each one of the elect will come only gradually to the full possession of his happiness. The Bishop of Milan describes this gradual rise, in the Vth book, n. 61, of his commentary on *Luke*: "*Absolutus*

⁴³⁷ *In psalm. CXVIII*, sermo XX, 23, 24, 29; sermo XXII, 26; *In psalm. XXXVI*, 26; *De excessu fratris*, II, 116.

⁴³⁸ *In psalm. I*, 54.

⁴³⁹ *In psalm. I*, 56; *De excessu fratris*, II, 116.

⁴⁴⁰ *In Lucam*, V, 61.

⁴⁴¹ *Epist. VII*, 11; *In Lucam, prol.*, 6; IV, 37; V, 61.

igitur per Domini crucem . . . consolationem in ipsa possessione (terrae tuae) reperies: consolationem sequitur delectatio, delectationem divina miseratio. Quem autem Dominus miseratur et vocat; qui vocatur videt vocantem; qui Deum viderit, in ius divinae generationis assumitur: tuncque demum quasi Dei filius, caelestis regni divitiis delectatur. Ille igitur incipit, hic repletur."

As to the bliss of heaven, he does not attempt to give an adequate idea of it, for he remembers the word of the Apostle, that the eye of man has not seen, nor his heart even suspected what God has prepared for those who love Him.⁴⁴² He represents it simply as a state of perfect repose, innocence and security, in which the saints share in the glory of God, behold Him face to face, enjoy the society of their fellow-elect and live for ever.⁴⁴³

These, then, are the main outlines of St. Ambrose's eschatology, as far as they can be gleaned from his writings. From that study we may safely conclude that, like St. Jerome and the Ambrosiaster, St. Ambrose firmly believed that all Christians were to be sooner or later reunited to God; consequently we may also conclude that this firm belief was not a bold and uncommon view in the Latin Church at the end of the 4th century. Christian faith was looked upon as the divine energy that was to save all those who possessed it; through that faith every Christian was founded upon Jesus, and in spite of the wood and straw, that is the useless, or even evil, works that he might build upon this foundation, every Christian would surely see one day all those works devoured by fire; but he himself would be spared. The text of St. Paul, *I Corinth.*, III, 15, is very often quoted in support of this view.

⁴⁴² *Epist.* XXXV, 16.

⁴⁴³ *De obitu Theodosii*, 37, 39; *De obitu Valentiniani*, 65; *De bono mortis*, 50; *De virginibus*, I, 64; *In psalm.* XXXVII, 59; *Epist.* XXXV, 5, 13.

Now, it is precisely to this text that more recent theologians have appealed to prove the existence of purgatory; moreover, we need but a few moments of close attention to notice that the eschatology of the end of the 4th century, and especially St. Ambrose's teaching on the purifying fire of judgment, suggests, and is fundamentally the doctrine of purgatory, as it has been taught since. But, at that time, this doctrine was pushed to the extreme limit, since all sinners without exception were looked upon as capable of purification. On the other hand, there are found, in the eschatology of the 4th century, uncertainties and hesitations which come from the fact that, when borrowing from their predecessors, the writers of whom we are speaking — St. Hilary, St. Jerome and St. Ambrose — did not always proceed with proper discrimination. The Church needed, then, a more original and steadfast genius who would remedy this defect and, even though unable to clear up all the difficulties, would at least reaffirm with vigor those principles which afterwards were to remain undisputed. This genius was St. Augustine.

WORKS OF ST. AUGUSTINE, QUOTED IN THE
FOLLOWING CHAPTERS.

With a view to facilitating research, and also because it is important to know the date of the works of St. Augustine mentioned in the following pages, we present below an alphabetical list of these works, with the exact title of each, the date of its composition and the volume of Migne's *Latin Patrology*, in which it can be found. This list contains only the treatises quoted in this volume; the dates are borrowed from a similar list given by E. Portalié in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, I, col. 2311-2314.

	DATE	P. L.
Acta contra Fortunatum manichaeum	392	XLII
Ad Orosium, contra priscillianistas et origenistas	415	XLII
Breviculus collationis	411	XLIII
Collatio cum Maximino	428	XLII
Confessionum libri XIII	400	XXXII
Contra academicos	386	XXXII
Contra Adimantum	393-396	XLII
Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum	420	XLII
Contra Cresconium	420	XLIV
Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum	406	XLIII
Contra epistulam fundamenti	397	XLII
Contra epistulam Parmeniani	400	XLIII
Contra Faustum manichaeum	400	XLII

	DATE	P. L.
Contra Iulianum.....	421	XLIV
Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum.	429-430	XLV
Contra litteras Petiliani.....	400-402	XLIII
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CHAPTER X

THE THEOLOGY OF ST. AUGUSTINE¹

§ 1. General Characteristics.

ST. AUGUSTINE² is unquestionably the greatest Doctor of the Church. While it is true that he has influenced the East but little, he has become and remained—in the full meaning of the title—*the Father* par excellence of the Western Church. In him is summed up and with him comes to an end Christian Latin Antiquity, whose thoughts find in his work their most accurate expression; while, with him also there begins to appear the medieval theology of

¹ St. Augustine is here quoted according to the Benedictine edition, given in *P. L.*, vol. XXXII-XLV. See above the detailed indications. — General works (the works bearing on this or that particular point of the Saint's teaching will be noted in their proper place): W. CUNNINGHAM, *S. Austin and his Place in the History of Christian Thought*, London, 1886. C. WOLFSGRUBER, *Augustinus*, Paderborn, 1898. W. THIMME, *Augustins geistige. Entwicklung in den ersten Jahren nach seiner "Bekehrung,"* Berlin, 1908. Also the studies of J. SCHWANE, A. HARNACK, F. LOOFS, R. SEEGER, in their Histories of Dogma, and of E. PORTALIÉ in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, I. (This last article contains a rich bibliography.)

² We may briefly recall the most important dates of his life: Born in 354; abandons himself to evil habits (370); is led to seek after truth, by reading Cicero's *Hortensius* (373); embraces Manicheism (373); gives up Manicheism and embraces the scepticism of the New Academy (383); becomes a Catholic, after listening to St. Ambrose (385); is converted (386); is baptized (387); is made a priest in Africa (389); coadjutor of Valerius (395); bishop of Hippo (396); dies on August 28, 430. See above the chronology of his principal works.

which he was the precursor and whose germs are contained in his writings. Thus he unites the future to the past; and it has been said, not without reason, that the Latin Church owes to him the particular form of her religion and belief.

The Catholic Church, however, has not been the only one to claim him as a master. Strangely enough — and by a somewhat peculiar privilege, which St. Augustine shares with St. Paul,—while this Church finds in him the most solid support of her teaching, discipline and morals, dissenters likewise have striven to take shelter beneath his name and to justify by his principles their individualism and secession. The Reformation has appealed to him from the Church of the Middle Ages, and Jansenism from that of the 16th century. This strange destiny comes to the Holy Doctor from the fact that, in his profound surveys of the many and diverse problems to which he applied himself, every detail is not made to harmonize with every other, nor is each accurately stated. Impelled as he was by circumstances and at the same time exceedingly conscious of the mysterious character of the truths which Christian theology strives to expound, St. Augustine has occasionally hesitated, groped his way, as it were, and suggested various solutions which, if separated from their context, may easily be falsified: he has written a book of *Retractationes*. But this appeal to Augustine's authority both by the Church and by dissenters is to be explained by a more intimate cause. It comes from the fact that the Christianity of the Bishop of Hippo is at once thoroughly traditional and intensely personal. St. Augustine is a man of tradition, a Churchman, and indeed extremely such. He reveres the Church as the mistress of truth, accepting unhesitatingly all her teachings. But he reconceives these teachings for himself; he makes them his own by the intense consideration which he devotes to them, and by the manner in which he expresses them;

frequently, indeed, he defines and completes the teachings he had received. Nor does he appear unconscious of the fact that his utterances fall short of the truth which they should express, that divine mystery cannot be encompassed in human formulas, and that consequently some room must be left in Christianity for the aspirations of piety and the intuitions of the heart. His doctrine is very orthodox and very personal. The Bishop of Hippo is a theologian and at the same time a deeply religious soul. He is not only a master of religious science, but also a doctor of Christian piety. Side by side with his speculative theology he writes an extensive theology of the heart, a theology of his own inner experience, which, of course, he has not learned from the lips of the Church and whose formulas are consequently more or less indefinite. These formulas can be misused; but it is well to bear in mind that, in St. Augustine's eyes, this latter theology, far from excluding the former, must be taken in connection with it. It is but fair to ignore neither of the two; nay, one must pay attention chiefly to the received faith which binds together all Christians, which does not represent the views of one man only, even though that man may be a genius.

Now, if we wish to seek the causes which stamped with a special character the activity and teachings of St. Augustine, we may find them in part,—but only in part, for genius can never be adequately accounted for—in his temperament and in the influences which acted upon him.

Augustine was naturally possessed of a wonderful mind, whose genuine passion for truth was increased by the reading of Cicero's *Hortensius*, and afterwards directed by the study of Neo-Platonism towards contemplation, and exercised in the most abstruse speculation concerning God and the origin of things. This early formation might have produced a stern and dry intellectualism, had it not been tem-

pered by an exquisite sensibility which became still more exquisite by contact with his mother's piety. Moreover, the deep regret which Augustine always entertained for the misdeeds of his youth, his own experience which enabled him, as it were, to place his finger on human weakness, perhaps also the Manichean doctrine which he held for a time, produced in him, together with a wonderful sense of personal humility, a clear realization of man's nothingness in the presence of God. On the one hand, God appeared to him as light, goodness and life; on the other, man, as ignorance, corruption and death; while all Christianity seemed like a descent of God into the heart of man to enlighten, vivify and save him. If we add to this the influence St. Jerome exercised upon him, the influence of monasticism beginning to be felt in the West, and the influence of the *Lives of the Fathers* which were being circulated, we can easily perceive how St. Augustine was inclined to contemplative mysticism, and how asceticism seemed to him the most fitting, nay, almost, *the* normal expression of religion. He might, indeed, have stopped here; but having taught rhetoric in his younger days, and having the gift of eloquence, he experienced both the inclination and facility for writing and speaking. Moreover, his was the privilege of meeting and admiring in St. Ambrose the type of a bishop who is an administrator, a man of government and action, — a bishop such as is needed by the mass of the people. In and through the Bishop of Milan, the Church appeared to him, not merely as a community of ascetics, or of mystics rapt in ecstasy, but as a huge mixed society which needs a creed, a code of law, a discipline and a system of government. Henceforth, Augustine's concepts were evenly balanced, and nothing was wanting that might favor the full blossoming of his genius. A marvellous intelligence combined with a tender and compassionate heart; an ardent

piety, naturally contemplative, yet combined with the practical activity needed for the defence of truth, the guidance of the faithful and the government of the Church,—all this made of him a great philosopher and a great theologian, a great orator and a great mystic, a great bishop and a great Saint.

We come now to the detailed exposition of his doctrine.

§ 2. Sources of Faith, Scripture, Tradition and Philosophy.³

“*Nulli dubium est gemino pondere nos impelli ad discendum, auctoritatis atque rationis.*”⁴ St. Augustine thus distinguishes, according to their respective sources, two different kinds of knowledge,—science and faith; for faith, he observes, is precisely the assent which we give to those truths which the mind does not directly perceive, on the authority of a witness who vouches for them.⁵

There is natural faith, which has for its object those truths of the natural order which we must believe under pain of making society among men absolutely impossible,⁶ and there is supernatural faith, which has for its object the truths revealed by God. Where does St. Augustine look for this divine revelation? First, in Holy Writ. It is Jesus Christ who “spoke by the lips of the Prophets and directed the pen of the Apostles”; these writings of the Apostles are the writings of Jesus Himself.⁷ God is the

³ Works: C. DOUAIS, *Saint Augustin et la Bible*, in the *Revue biblique*, vol. II, III (1893, 1894). J. HÄHNEL, *Ueber das Verhältniss des Glaubens zu Wissen bei Augustin*, Leipzig, 1891. M. d' HERBIGNY, *Les Arguments apologetiques de S. Augustin*, in *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique*, vol. VIII. L. DE MONDADON, *Bible et Exégèse dans l'Apologétique de S. Augustin*, in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, vol. II. The works on St. Augustine's Ecclesiology, cited below.

⁴ *Contra academicos*, III, 43.

⁵ “Creduntur ergo illa quae absunt a mentibus nostris si videtur idoneum quod eis testimonium perhibetur” (*Epist. CXLVII*, 7).

⁶ *De utilitate credendi*, 26.

⁷ *De doctrina christiana*, II, 6; *Confessiones*, VII, 27; XIII, 44; *De civit. Dei*, XI, 3; XVIII, 43; *De consensu evangelistarum*, I, 54.

real author of the sacred books, and therefore they can contain no error: "*Quam (Scripturam) esse veracem nemo dubitat nisi infidelis aut impius.*"⁸ The errors which some claim are found in Holy Writ, are either mistakes of copying or of translation, or they may come from a misunderstanding of the text.⁹

This does not mean that the Bishop of Hippo excludes all human participation and coöperation from the production and composition of the inspired writings; far from it; he even goes so far as to admit the possibility of oversights and confusions in regard to names¹⁰ on the part of the *secondary* authors of the Scriptures; but these are, he adds, unimportant mistakes, that are willed by God, and affect in no way the substance of the narrative, hence must by no means prevent us from giving absolute assent to the Holy Scriptures and to them only — in contrast to the Apocrypha and profane works: "*Solis canonicis (scriptis) debeo sine ulla recusatione consensum.*"¹¹

Moreover, St. Augustine interprets Holy Writ rather freely. As is well known, he advances — without, however, definitely adopting it — a theory of the plurality of literal meanings, according to which every pious and useful interpretation of the text is a meaning intended by the Holy Ghost, the primary author of that text.¹² His own doctrinal interpretations are often profound and precise, but, at times, more ingenious than solid. A former pupil of the Neo-platonic school and, inclined, too, by the subtlety of his mind, to allegory and mysticism, he yields to these tendencies especially in his sermons; then, leaving deliberately the path of literal exegesis, he seeks in more elaborate interpretations points for moral instruction and edification.

⁸ *De Genesi ad litteram*, VII, 42.

⁹ *Contra Faustum*, XI, 5; cf. *Epist.* XXVIII, 3; LXXXII, 3, 24.

¹⁰ *De consensu evangelist.*, III, 28, foll.; cf. II, 27-29.

¹¹ *De natura et gratia*, 71; *Epist.* LXXXII, 3.

¹² *Confess.*, XII, 30-33; cf. *De doctrina christiana*, I, 40; III, 5, 38.

Furthermore, side by side with Scripture as another source of revealed doctrine, St. Augustine places tradition, an unwritten tradition which comes from the Apostles, bringing down to us practices and teachings not contained in Holy Writ: "*Sunt multa quae universa tenet ecclesia, et ob hoc ab apostolis praecepta bene creduntur, quanquam scripta non reperiantur.*"¹³ One such teaching is the necessity of baptism for children. When a practice is universal, and when, besides, it has not been established by a Council, then we are sure that it comes from the Apostles.¹⁴

Although St. Augustine does not identify this tradition with the living authority of the Church, yet he looks upon the latter as the supreme rule and standard of faith. All remember the classical text: "*Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas.*"¹⁵ It is from the Church that we receive the Sacred Scriptures; she it is who vouches for their authority, and her teaching is the guide we must follow in interpreting both Scripture and tradition.¹⁶ By means of her Councils she decides all controversies.¹⁷ Moreover a share of this doctrinal magisterium of the Church belongs to her bishops and doctors taken individually. In his controversy with the Pelagians, the Bishop of Hippo does not fail to quote the ancient writers, down to St. Ambrose, who agree with him.

What part does philosophy take in the genesis of faith and in the development of theology? St. Augustine has answered this question in these words: "*Intellege ut credas, crede ut intellegas.*"¹⁸ He demands that, before

¹³ *De baptismo*, V, 31; cf. II, 12; IV, 9.

¹⁴ *De baptismo*, IV, 31.

¹⁵ *Contra epist. fundamenti*, 6; cf. *Contra Faustum*, XXVIII, 2.

¹⁶ *De Genesi ad litter. lib. imperfectus*, I.

¹⁷ *De baptismo*, II, 5.

¹⁸ *Sermo* XLIII, 9; *In psalm. CXVIII*, sermo XVIII, 3.

believing, the claims of the witness on whose authority we are to believe should be examined; we must first consider "*cui sit credendum*,"¹⁹ and in this respect, "*ipsa (ratio) antecedit fidem*."²⁰ This consciousness of the value of the testimony remains in the act of faith;²¹ but, as soon as this value is perceived, we must not, before believing, wait till reason has answered all the difficulties that may arise.²² Nevertheless, once the revealed truths are firmly held, reason resumes its rights to a certain extent and strives, not indeed to understand these truths completely, but to penetrate them, to see their fitness and harmony, and to realize, if possible, their foundation. It is here especially that philosophy comes into play. St. Augustine made frequent use of it to throw light upon certain mysteries; for instance, that of the Trinity. A Platonist or rather an enthusiastic Neo-platonist,²³ while subordinating philosophy to faith and to the teachings of the Church, he endeavored to show the agreement between that philosophy and certain Gospel truths, and even thought that in it were to be found several of our mysteries, that of the Christian Word in particular.²⁴ Later on, his enthusiasm waned, and towards the end of his life he retracted several of the philosophical views which he had before advanced.²⁵ But what he never retracted, was the habit of reasoning out his faith, and the tendency to show how Christian truths are in harmony with what is highest and noblest in man.

§ 3. God and the Trinity. Arian Controversy.²⁶

The religious and Neo-platonic currents, already pointed

¹⁹ *De vera religione*, 45, 46.

²⁰ *Epist.* CXX, 3.

²¹ *Epist.* CXX, 8; *De prædest. sanctorum*, 5.

²² *Epist.* CII, 38.

²³ *Confess.*, VII, 13, 26, 27; *Contra academicos*, III, 41; *Epist.* CXVIII, 20-34.

²⁴ *Contra academ.*, III, 43; *Confess.*, VII, 13, 14; *In Ioan.*, tract. II, 4.

²⁵ *De civit. Dei*, XXII, 28; *Retract.*, I, 1, 4; 4, 2, 3; II, 4, etc.

²⁶ Works: C. VON ENDERT, *Der Gottesbeweis in der patristischen*

out, may be found in St. Augustine's theodicy. In his writings he has set forth the different proofs of God's existence,—the teleological proof²⁷ and the metaphysical proof;²⁸ those which he prefers, however, those on which he likes to dwell, are the proof to be drawn from the various degrees of perfection that appear in the world,²⁹ and the proof taken from the necessary ideas, or the psychological proof.³⁰ We see in the world beings that are more or less good, subject to change and imperfect. How can we judge them more or less good, unless it be in comparison with the supreme good, in which they share more or less, and of which we have the concept in our minds: "*Quapropter nulla essent mutabilia bona, nisi esset incommutabile bonum.*"³¹ Furthermore, man surpasses all that surrounds him, and reason is man's greatest prerogative. But this reason is swayed, as it were, by ideas and principles that are necessary, immutable, eternal, superior to it, since it does not create them. The truth which thus imposes itself upon the soul and enlightens it, is God.³² If improperly presented, this proof, as is evident, can easily fall into ontologism, and, in fact, there are in St. Augustine's writings several texts that seem to favor both that error³³ and inneism.³⁴ A closer study, however, shows that the Saint

Zeit, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Augustins, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1869. J. MARTIN, *Saint Augustin*, Paris, 1901. L. GRANDGEORGE, *Saint Augustin et le néoplatonisme*, Paris, 1896. TH. GANGAUF, *Des hl. Augustinus speculative Lehre von Gott dem Dreieinigen*, Augsburg, 1866. H. WEINAND, *Die Gottesidee der Grundzug der Weltanschauung des hl. Augustins*, Paderborn, 1910.

²⁷ *Sermo CXLI*, 2; *Enarr. in psalm. XLI*, 7, 8.

²⁸ *Confession.*, X, 8-10.

²⁹ *De trinitate*, VIII, 4, 5; *De civit. Dei*, XI, 2; VIII, 7.

³⁰ *De libero arbitrio*, 7-14; *Enarr. in psalm. XLI*, 8.

³¹ *De trinit.*, VIII, 5.

³² *De libero arbitrio*, 7-14.

³³ *De trinit.*, VIII, 13; X, 1, 2; *De civit. Dei*, VIII, 7.

³⁴ *De trinit.*, X, 1.

kept clear of these dangers;³⁵ he made the mistake, however, of not pushing his proofs far enough and of inferring too readily the existence of an object from the idea which we have of it.

His concept of God's attributes, His simplicity, eternity and immensity, is wonderfully profound. While in his heart he seizes God as the supreme good, with his intelligence St. Augustine seizes Him also as the first truth, the first being and the first life.³⁶ This is an altogether philosophical concept which he will bend indeed to the exigencies of dogma, while it remains for him a fundamental concept. It will lead him, in his exposition of the Trinity, to take a starting-point different from that of Greek theology, and to insist, more than the latter had done, on the intimate and immanent character of the divine processions.

In fact, even though St. Augustine did combat the Arians and write against them some polemical works, he likes to inquire into the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, in his own way and this independently of any controversy.³⁷ In his exposition he does not start from the Father, as the source of the other two divine Persons, but from the one and simple divine nature which is Trinity: "*Unus quippe Deus est ipsa Trinitas, et sic unus Deus quomodo unus creator.*"³⁸ This one God is Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

³⁵ SCHWANE, *Hist. des Dogmes* (transl. DEGERT), II, p. 90 and foll. PORTALIÉ, in article quoted, cols. 2335, 2336. There is in the doctrine of St. Augustine a striking parallelism. Just as he does not admit that, without grace, we can do even a merely morally good act, so he does not admit that, without an intellectual help of God distinct from our reason, we can perceive even natural truths.

³⁶ *De civit. Dei*, VIII, 10, 2.

³⁷ St. Augustine's principal works on this subject are as follows: *De Trinitate* (400-416); *Contra sermonem arianorum* (418); *Collatio cum Maximino* (428); *Contra Maximinum haereticum* (428); letters XI (380-385) and CXX (396-410) and *De civitate Dei*, XI, 10 (413-426).

³⁸ *Contra sermon. arian.*, 3.

Subordinationism is thus dealt a decisive blow; for all that is said of God is also said of every and each one of the Persons who are this God.³⁹ This divine nature, which the Bishop of Hippo calls an *essence* rather than a *substance*,⁴⁰ is individual and definite; it is numerically identical in the three Persons who possess it.⁴¹ Nay, it is not a fourth term added to the three Persons; it is each one of them, or rather each one of these divine Persons is this nature itself considered from a certain point of view, and the Trinity is merely this nature considered in all its aspects.⁴² From the oneness and identity of nature in the three divine Persons St. Augustine draws the following consequences: (1) These Persons have *ad extra* but one will and operation: "*Ubi nulla naturarum nulla est diversitas voluntatum*;"⁴³ and in this connection the Holy Doctor takes occasion to modify the theory of theophanies, which had been advanced by his predecessors. It is not the Word alone who appeared, but the whole Trinity, God; and He did so, not by Himself, but by means of angels who spoke and acted in His name, who manifested themselves to men under a sensible form.⁴⁴ (2) The act which, in the Son's Incarnation, has united the Son to the human nature, thus sending Him into the world, is common to the whole Trinity.⁴⁵ (3) Each one of the three Persons is just as much as the other two and as the whole Trinity, for each one possesses the whole divine nature and is God, who comprises also the other two Persons: "*Tantus est solus Pater, vel solus Filius, vel solus Spiritus sanctus quantus est*

³⁹ *De trinit.*, V, 9.

⁴⁰ *De trinit.*, VII, 10.

⁴¹ *De trinit.*, VIII, 11.

⁴² *Epist.* CXX, 13, 17.

⁴³ *Contra Maximinum*, II, 10, 2; *De trinit.*, II, 9; *Enchiridion*, XXXVIII.

⁴⁴ *De trinit.*, II, 12, foll.; III, 22-27.

⁴⁵ *De trinit.*, II, 8, 9.

simul Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus." ⁴⁶ This is circumincession: "*semper in invicem, neuter solus.*" ⁴⁷ (4) All that refers, in God, to the nature, and expresses something absolute, must be worded in the singular, since the divine nature, the subject of that absolute, is one.⁴⁸

Hence, contrary to the Greeks, St. Augustine affirms at the beginning of his Trinitarian exposition, that God is strictly one, then he draws the consequences of his affirmation. This done, the difficulty was to keep clear of modalism and account for the real plurality of persons. What, then, are these Persons who are really distinct, yet do not divide the divine unity and simplicity? The Holy Doctor gives as an answer the theory of the relations. These Persons are relations, and relations that are not identical with the substance or the nature, since they are not something absolute; while, on the other hand, they cannot be called accidents, since they are essential to the nature, and, like it, eternal and necessary: "*Non secundum substantiam haec dicuntur quia non quisque eorum ad seipsum, sed ad invicem atque ad alterutrum ista dicuntur: neque secundum accidens, quia et quod dicitur Pater et quod dicitur Filius aeternum atque incommutabile est. . . . Hoc non secundum substantiam dicuntur, sed secundum relativum; quod tamen relativum non est accidens, quia non est mutabile.*" ⁴⁹ Thus the Father is called such *ad Filium*, the Son, *ad Patrem*, and the Holy Ghost, *ad Patrem et Filium*. As to the term person, it has been used in the Trinitarian language, for lack of a better term, to designate *three distinct objects*; but like all other terms, it must be understood of God analogically: "*Tres utique sunt. . . . Tamen cum quaeritur quid tres, magna prorsus inopia humanum laborat*

⁴⁶ *De trinit.*, VI, 9.

⁴⁷ *De trinit.*, VI, 9, 8; XV, 8.

⁴⁸ *De trinit.*, V, 9, II.

⁴⁹ *De trinit.*, V, 6, 16, 17; VII, 24. Cf. *De civit. Dei*, XI, 10, 1.

eloquium. Dictum est tamen tres personae, non ut illud diceretur, sed ne taceretur." ⁵⁰

We need not set forth St. Augustine's doctrine on the generation of the Son; on this point he merely reproduces what had been said before him; but it is very important to observe that he was the first to teach distinctly the procession of the Holy Ghost *a Filio* and to show why he held that doctrine: "*Non possumus dicere quod Spiritus sanctus et a Filio non procedat: neque enim frustra idem Spiritus et Patris et Filii Spiritus dicitur.*" ⁵¹ Has the Holy Ghost, then, two principles, the Father and the Son? No; the production of the Holy Ghost is common to the Father and to the Son, just as the act of creation is common to the three Persons, and thus they are but one principle of the Holy Ghost: "*Fatendum est Patrem et Filium principium esse Spiritus sancti, non duo principia.*" ⁵² However, the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *principaliter*, because it is the Father who imparts to the Son, together with His substance, the power to produce the Holy Ghost. ⁵³ As to what this procession is and in what it differs from the generation of the Son, St. Augustine simply declares that he cannot answer, for that is a mystery which we shall know only in heaven. ⁵⁴

The divine Persons are, then, relations, and all that does not signify a relation in God is common to them. The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are *wisdom*, although this word is used especially of the Son. Likewise, they are *love*, although this title becomes more especially the Holy Ghost. ⁵⁵

⁵⁰ *De trinit.*, V, 10; VII, 8, 9.

⁵¹ *De trinit.*, IV, 29; *Contra Maximinum*, II, 14, 1; *In Ioann.*, tract. XCIX, 7.

⁵² *De trinit.*, V, 15.

⁵³ *De trinit.*, XV, 29; cf. 47, 48.

⁵⁴ *De trinit.*, XV, 45; cf. IX, 17, 18.

⁵⁵ *De trinit.*, VII, 1-4; XV, 27-37.

It is unnecessary to show at length how, in all these explanations, St. Augustine surpasses his predecessors. He surpasses them also when he turns to the created world, in search of analogies of the Trinity. It is true that Victorinus had preceded him in this; but the Bishop of Hippo took a much broader view of the subject and truly prepared the way for the Scholastic speculations of later ages. Seven books of the *De trinitate* (IX–XV) are devoted to the development of this theme. The author finds the image of the Blessed Trinity in the human soul which knows itself and loves itself: *mens, notitia, amor*: “*Haec tria unum atque una substantia*” (lib. IX, 18); in the memory, intelligence and will (lib. X); in the object that is seen, the vision and attention of the one who sees (lib. XI); in the understanding of the teachings of faith, the memory we keep of them and the effort we make to recall them (lib. XIII); finally, in the memory, knowledge and love of God, for it is chiefly then that the soul,—which is God’s natural likeness because of its three faculties of memory, intelligence and will,—becomes still more His likeness by the thought of God who lives in it (lib. XIV). The XVth book sums up the preceding books. It would seem for the moment that St. Augustine meant to attempt a rational demonstration of the Trinity; but in reality he gives simply analogies of this great mystery.

§ 4. Creation. The Problem of Evil. Manichean Controversy.⁵⁶

St. Augustine distinguishes two moments, as it were, in the creation of the world: first, the moment when the first

⁵⁶ Works: F. L. GRASSMANN, *Die Schöpfungslehre des hl. Augustin und Darwins*, Regensburg, 1889. J. CHRISTINNECKE, *Causalität und Entwicklung in der Metaphysik Augustin*, Leipzig, 1891. E. MELZER, *Die augustinische Lehre vom Kausalitäts Verhältniss Gottes zur Welt*, Neisse, 1892. K. SCIPIO, *Des Aurelius Augustinus Metaphysik in Rahmen seiner Lehre vom Uebel*, Leipzig, 1886. C. DOUAIS, *Saint Augustin contre le manichéisme de son temps*, Paris, 1895. The general

matter and spirits are more or less confusedly produced: this is the topic of the first two verses of Genesis; then, a second moment—the moment of organization—when beings are distinguished and species determined; this is recorded in verses 3 and following. The first matter is, truly and properly speaking, created; the world has been made out of it; it comes itself from nothing: “*Etiam si de aliqua informi materia factus est mundus, haec ipsa facta est omnino de nihilo.*”⁵⁷ This creation comes *immediately* from God: the Bishop of Hippo denies that angels have power to create.⁵⁸ Against the Origenists he maintains that creation took place *in time*. Against this answer some raised the objection that temporal creation implied a change in God, since God was passing from the state of not creating to that of creating. St. Augustine replies that the change is not at all in God, but in the creature: “*Una eademque sempiterna et immutabili voluntate res quas condidit, et ut prius non essent egit, quamdiu non fuerunt, et ut posterius essent, quando esse coeperunt.*”⁵⁹ From all eternity God bore within Himself the archetypes and plan of those creatures and of that world;⁶⁰ here St. Augustine applies verses 3 and 4 of the 1st chapter of St. John’s Gospel, which he combined in this way: “*Quod factum est in ipso vita erat;*” all that was made was life in the Word, lived in Him, by the idea He had of it.⁶¹ It is works on St. Augustine’s philosophy, particularly F. NOURRISSON, *La philosophie de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1865. J. MARTIN, *Saint Augustin*, Paris, 1901.

⁵⁷ *De vera relig.*, 36; *Confess.*, XII, 8; *De fide et symbolo*, 2.

⁵⁸ *Quaest. in Heptateuchum*, II, 21. The angelic creations which some think occur, for instance, in cases of magical phenomena, are only apparent: all that the angels can do is simply to place in conditions favorable to their development the primitive germs of beings, these germs having been first created by God (*De trinit.*, III, 14).

⁵⁹ *De civit. Dei*, XII, 17, 2.

⁶⁰ *Ad Orosium*, 9; *De divers. quaest.* LXXXIII, qu. XLVI, 2.

⁶¹ *De Genesi ad litt.*, V, 33.

freely, however, that God brings into reality these archetypes and this plan of things; for He has no need of the world: He creates it by mere goodness, and from the motive of sharing the riches of His being and of His attributes.⁶²

God not only creates the diverse beings of this world; He preserves them also and sustains them in existence; this preservation is necessary, since the divine power is the cause of their existence, and without it they would lapse into nothing; ⁶³ moreover, this preservation is a continuous and permanent creation, since it has for its term and object the *existence* of creatures.⁶⁴

But, in regard to creation, there was a point which puzzled St. Augustine for a long time: *viz.*, the problem of evil: "*Quaerebam unde malum, et non erat exitus.*" ⁶⁵ Manicheism had attempted to solve the difficulty by means of dualism, *i. e.*, by assigning to evil both physical and moral, an evil first principle, distinct from God who is the author of all good. This solution had at first appealed to Augustine, who followed the Manichean heresy for about ten years. Later he fought it with vigor. He showed what a contradiction it was to admit a positive being that would be essentially evil, especially as conceived by the Manicheans, and what absurdities were implied in the supposed struggle between the two principles, as it was described by the sect.⁶⁶

But it was not enough for Augustine to refute the error;

⁶² *De Genesi ad litter.*, IV, 26; *Confess.*, XIII, 2-5. As to the way in which the world was created and arranged, all know that St. Augustine saw in the six days of Genesis merely a subjective plan followed by the sacred writer, for the purpose of giving order to his narrative; in reality all beings were created simultaneously (*De Genesi ad litt.*, IV, 51-56).

⁶³ *De Genesi ad litt.*, IV, 22.

⁶⁴ *De Genesi ad litt.*, IV, 23; *Enchiridion*, XXVII; *De civit. Dei*, VII, 30.

⁶⁵ *Confess.*, VII, 11.

⁶⁶ *De natura boni*, 41-43.

he had besides to provide a solution to the problem. This the Bishop of Hippo did by borrowing from the Greeks the idea that evil was a mere defect, a negation of good: "*Nihil aliud est (malum) quam corruptio vel modi, vel speciei, vel ordinis naturalis.*"⁶⁷ Nature, every nature considered as nature, is good, its being evil consisting in a decrease of its good: "*Non ergo mala est in quantum natura est ulla natura; sed cuique naturae non est malum nisi minui bono.*"⁶⁸ Absolute evil would be for it not to exist at all; but it is precisely then that evil becomes complete negation.⁶⁹

Now, among the various kinds of evil, we must distinguish first the evil which philosophers call *metaphysical*, which for creatures is nothing but their necessary state of inferiority in comparison with the uncreated and infinite Being, or with one another, on account of their respective natures. The Holy Doctor observes that this cannot be looked upon as a true evil, for these varying degrees of perfection contribute to the beauty of the universe. The same must be said of the disappearance and succession of life in lower beings. Properly speaking, evil is not the absence of any good whatever, but the privation of some good which ought to be had and which befits such or such a nature.⁷⁰

Furthermore, this privation may have for its object either a physical or a moral good. In the former case, the privation results from the imperfect character of creatures that come from nothing and tend to return to nothing.⁷¹ In the latter, the privation does not spring at all from an essential evil of nature, but from man's free will. For sin is not necessary, nor is it intended by God; it is merely "*vo-*

⁶⁷ *De natura boni*, 4.

⁶⁸ *De natura boni*, 17.

⁶⁹ *De natura boni*, 6; *Contra Secundinum*, II.

⁷⁰ *De natura boni*, 8, 16, 23.

⁷¹ *De natura boni*, 10; *Contra Secundinum*, 8.

luntas retinendi vel consequendi quod iustitia vetat, et unde liberum est abstinere." ⁷²—"Non igitur nisi voluntate peccatur;" ⁷³ it is not "*appetitus naturarum malarum, sed desertio meliorum*"; it consists in choosing a lower good in preference to a superior good; ⁷⁴ strictly speaking, it has no efficient cause, but only a deficient cause. ⁷⁵

Thus, upon the whole, the presence of evil in the world is accounted for both by the weakness inherent in every creature, and by the exercise of the freedom of the higher beings which, while they can avoid sin, do not in fact avoid it. It is true that moral evil is then punished by physical evil; but this is demanded by order and justice with which the divine will cannot but comply: "*Peccantes igitur in suppliciis ordinantur: quae ordinatio, quia eorum naturae non competit, ideo poena est; sed quia culpa competit, ideo iustitia est.*" ⁷⁶

§ 5. Angelology.⁷⁷

Before St. Augustine it had been generally held in the Latin Church that angels had a more or less subtle body. While he did not look upon it as a point of doctrine, the Bishop of Hippo adopted that view, which he thought agreed better with Scripture. ⁷⁸ Before their fall, demons had heavenly bodies; since then, these bodies are composed of damp, thick air. ⁷⁹

⁷² *De duabus animabus*, 15.

⁷³ *De duabus animabus*, 14.

⁷⁴ *De natura boni*, 34.

⁷⁵ *De civit. Dei*, XII, 7.

⁷⁶ *De natura boni*, 7.

⁷⁷ Works: A. BRANDT, *Sancti Augustini Hipponensis episcopi de angelis doctrina*, I, *Commentatio theologica*, Paderborn, 1893.

⁷⁸ *Epist.* XCV, 8; *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 10; *Enarr. in psalm.* LXXXV, 17; *De Genesi ad litt.*, XII, 68; *De agone christiano*, 34; *Sermo* CCXLII, 11; CCLXIV, 6.

⁷⁹ *De Genesi ad litt.*, III, 14, 15; XI, 17; *De divinat. daemonum*, 7; *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 10, 1.

Angels are not eternal; they have been created.⁸⁰ The Holy Doctor examines at length the question whether they have been created in time or before all time; since, as they may have been created first, time has begun only with them.⁸¹ But this question involved the solution of the question regarding the moment of the creation of the angels; and on this last point the Saint had not come to any definite conclusion. He was persuaded that the angels were included somewhere in the narrative of the 1st chapter of Genesis,⁸² and he was inclined to discern them either in the word *caelum* of verse 1 or in the word *lux* of verse 3; but he hesitated between these two passages, in other words, he did not know whether the creation of angels should be placed before or after that of the material world.⁸³ In the *De civitate Dei*, XI, 9, however, he adopts the second solution.

Angels received in their creation, not only the gifts of nature, but also those of grace: the Holy Spirit infused divine charity into them, as He does into our souls.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, not all persevered in the grace they had received. St. Augustine sets aside altogether the interpretation which sees angels in the "sons of God," of *Genesis* VI, 1, 2, although on the authority of popular testimonies, he does not deny the possibility of monstrous unions be-

⁸⁰ *De civit. Dei*, XI, 9; 32; XII, 15, 1.

⁸¹ *De civit. Dei*, XII, 15, 1-3.

⁸² *De civit. Dei*, XI, 9. However, he does not reprove the view of those who think that the creation of angels preceded the moment when the narrative of Moses began, for the *In principio* signifies *In the Word* (*De civit. Dei*, XI, 32).

⁸³ *Contra Faustum*, XXII, 10; *De Genesi ad litt.*, I, 7, 15; *De Genesi lib. imperf.*, 21.

⁸⁴ *De civit. Dei*, XII, 9, 2. St. Augustine asks whether they received at the same time the assurance of their perseverance. Those who fell subsequently, certainly did not receive that assurance; the others, may have (*De civit. Dei*, XI, 13).

tween women and devils.⁸⁵ According to him the sin of the fallen angels was a sin of pride: they refused to submit to God and to remain faithful to Him.⁸⁶ Moreover, the Bishop of Hippo supposes that the trial lasted but one instant. Satan departed from God even at the first moment of his existence; the good angels beheld the Word on the day on which they were created.⁸⁷

For the latter the trial resulted in perfect beatitude. Not only are they sure of the permanence of their bliss,⁸⁸ but they are absolutely fixed in good.⁸⁹ They see God face to face, contemplate the unchangeable truth, behold in the Word the laws and origins of things and, being placed above space and time, share in the divine eternity.⁹⁰ They knew beforehand the mystery of God's kingdom.⁹¹

The bad angels, on the contrary, "*miserrimi effecti sunt.*"⁹² However, it is only after the last judgment that they will suffer, in its fulness, the punishment in store for them: "*in iudicio puniendos servari.*"⁹³ Meanwhile, they are enclosed, as in a jail, in the inferior and denser atmosphere in which we live; they are those princes of the air against whom we have to fight.⁹⁴ Their knowledge is very extensive: using their experience and secret indications of which we know nothing, they can make about the future probable guesses that are often verified.⁹⁵ However, they

⁸⁵ *De civit. Dei*, XV, 23, 1, 3, 4.

⁸⁶ *Enchiridion*, XXVIII; *De civit. Dei*, XII, 6.

⁸⁷ *De Genesi ad litt.*, II, 17; XI, 21, 26, 30.

⁸⁸ *De Genesi ad litt.*, XI, 22, 25; *De correptione et gratia*, 27.

⁸⁹ *Enchiridion*, LVII; *De continentia*, 16; *De civit. Dei*, XI, 13.

⁹⁰ *De civit. Dei*, IX, 22; XXII, 29, 1; *De Genesi ad litt.*, VIII, 45; *De trinit.*, IV, 22.

⁹¹ *De Genesi ad litt.*, V, 38; cf. *De civitate Dei*, VII, 32.

⁹² *De correptione et gratia*, 27.

⁹³ *De Genesi ad litt.*, XI, 33; *De civit. Dei*, XIV, 3, 2.

⁹⁴ *De natura boni*, 33; *De Gen. ad litt.*, XI, 33; *De civit. Dei*, XIV, 3, 2; *De agone christiano*, 5.

⁹⁵ *De civit. Dei*, IX, 20, 22.

have known of Jesus only what He has been willing to let them know; thus, of course, they did not see in Him the Word of God, and Satan even doubted whether He was the Messiah, at least at the time of His temptation in the wilderness.⁹⁶

Of the differences that exist among the angels, their orders, hierarchy and various degrees, the precise meaning of the names Thrones, Dominations, etc., St. Augustine declares that he knows absolutely nothing: "*Dicant qui possunt, si tamen possunt probare quod dicunt: ego me ista ignorare confiteor.*"⁹⁷ But he treats of the relations of angels with men. First, angels have at times appeared to men. But how? Whether it is by making their own spiritual bodies more dense through the addition of foreign elements that has made them visible, or by imparting a real and sensible form to the substance of their bodies, the Holy Doctor does not know.⁹⁸ Then God entrusts to the good angels temporary missions to men.⁹⁹ They announce to us the divine will and offer Him our prayers;¹⁰⁰ they watch over us, love us, help us;¹⁰¹ they are even entrusted with the care of heathen nations.¹⁰² Nowhere, however, does the Holy Doctor expressly assign a guardian angel to each individual man. Finally, the good angels have charge of the elements and of the large bodies of the universe, and they maintain the order of nature in helping these bodies and elements to observe and to fulfil their laws: "*ut hoc de subditis vel cum subditis agant (angeli) quod naturae ordo*

⁹⁶ *De civit. Dei*, IX, 21.

⁹⁷ *Enchiridion*, LVIII; *Ad Orosium*, 14.

⁹⁸ *De trinit.*, III, 5; cf. *Enchiridion*, LIX. In his XIIth Sermon, n. 9, the Saint seems to adopt the first hypothesis.

⁹⁹ *De civit. Dei*, VII, 30.

¹⁰⁰ *Epist.* CXL, 69.

¹⁰¹ *Enarr. in psalm.* LXII, 6; *De civit. Dei*, X, 25.

¹⁰² *Enarr. in psalm.* LXXXVIII, 3.

poscit in omnibus, iubente illo cui subiecta sunt omnia." ¹⁰³ We must not adore them as gods, nor offer up sacrifices to them, nor build temples in their honor,¹⁰⁴ but we must love them and simply honor them: "*Honoramus eos charitate non servitute.*" ¹⁰⁵

On the other hand, the bad angels are occupied in deceiving us and leading us to ruin.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, they intervene in divination and magical practices. St. Augustine relates some facts of divination, and then explains them by the subtlety of the senses of the demons, which enables them to read in our memory and to reveal to the diviner our secret reminiscences.¹⁰⁷ He explains in the same way the diabolical action in magical cases.¹⁰⁸ However, this diabolical power is limited; God allows its exercise only in the measure in which He Himself chooses to chastise the wicked, and to punish the just for their sins or even merely to test their fidelity.¹⁰⁹

§ 6. Christology and Soteriology. The Leporius Episode.¹¹⁰

There are theological subjects which Augustine's genius

¹⁰³ *De Genesi ad litt.*, VIII, 45, 47. Cf. *De diversis quaest.* LXXXIII, quaest. LXXIX, 1.

¹⁰⁴ *De civit. Dei*, X, 25, 26; *Contra Faustum*, XX, 21; *De vera religione*, 110; *Quaestiones in Heptat.*, I, 61.

¹⁰⁵ *De vera religione*, 110.

¹⁰⁶ *In Ioan.*, tract. CX, 7.

¹⁰⁷ *Contra academicos*, 17, 19, 20.

¹⁰⁸ *De diversis quaestion.* LXXXIII, qu. LXXIX, 1.

¹⁰⁹ *De trinit.*, III, 13; *De civit. Dei*, II, 23, 2.

¹¹⁰ Works: H. HUHNER, *Augustins Anschauung von der Erlösungsbedeutung Christi*, Heidelberg, 1890. O. SCHEEL, *Die Anschauung Augustins über Christi Person und Werk*, Leipzig, 1901. J. GOTTSCHICK, *Augustins Anschauung von der Erlöserwirkungen Christi*, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, v. XI, 1901. C. VAN CROMBRUGGHE, *La doctrine christologique et sotériologique de saint Augustin, et ses rapports avec le néoplatonisme*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, v. V, 1904. J. RIVIÈRE, *Le dogme de la Rédemption*, chap. XV, XXII, Paris, 1905 [English transl.]. P. CAPISTRAN ROMEIS, *Das Heil des Christen ausserhalb der wahren Kirche nach der Lehre des hl. Augustin*, Paderborn, 1908. PH. FRIEDRICH, *Die Mariologie des hl. Augustinus*, Köln, 1907.

presented under altogether new aspects; but even those which he did not study so thoroughly, he stated with more accuracy and threw greater light upon. This is the case with Christology.

The body of Jesus was real, earthly and taken from a woman, in order that in it both sexes might struggle against Satan and overcome him; and also in order that, since a woman had brought death to us, a woman might give us life.¹¹¹ That body is the work of the whole Trinity, since it is a work *ad extra*. However, its formation is attributed especially to the Holy Ghost; yet it would not be by any means correct to say that Jesus is the Son of the Holy Ghost.¹¹² In any case, its elements come from the Virgin—who remained a virgin in conceiving, a virgin in bringing forth, ever a virgin: “*Concipiens virgo, pariens virgo, virgo gravida, virgo feta, virgo perpetua.*”¹¹³

On the subject of the existence of a rational soul in Jesus Christ, the Holy Doctor declares himself just as plainly against Apollinaris: “*Erat enim in Christo anima humana, tota anima, non irrationale tantum animae, sed etiam rationale quod mens dicitur.*”¹¹⁴ This rational soul was precisely the bond between the Word and the body.¹¹⁵ As to its mode of origin, the Bishop of Hippo does not pronounce himself peremptorily. As is well known, he hesitated, on the general question of the origin of souls, between traducianism and creationism. Concerning the soul of Jesus, he observes that we cannot hold its origin *ex traduce*, if this origin implies the original stain; personally,

¹¹¹ *De agone christiano*, 20, 24; *Contra Faustum*, XXVI, 7; *Sermo CXC*, 2.

¹¹² *Enchiridion*, XXXVIII-XL.

¹¹³ *Sermo* CLXXXVI, 1; CLXXXVIII, 4; CLXXXIX, 2; CCXV, 3; *Enchiridion*, XXXIV; *Epist.* CXXXVII, 8; *De trinit.*, VIII, 7.

¹¹⁴ *In Ioan.*, tract. XXIII, 6; cf. XLVII, 9.

¹¹⁵ *Epist.* CXXXVII, 8; CXL, 12.

he holds that His soul was created; nevertheless, he does not wish to impose his opinion.¹¹⁶

Regarding the human knowledge of Jesus Christ, he teaches definitely — and all Latin ecclesiastical writers will teach after him — that it was perfect and complete. It is true that, in the *De diversis quaestionibus* LXXXIII, question LXXV, 2, he hesitates to affirm the presence of the full divine vision in Jesus as man; but at the LXVth question, he interprets the interrogation concerning Lazarus: *Ubi eum posuistis?* in the sense of an economical ignorance. He does likewise in dealing with the famous text of *Mark*, XIII, 32: "*Hoc enim nescit quod nescientes facit, id est, quod non ita sciebat ut tunc discipulis indicaret.*"¹¹⁷ To sum up, he is unwilling to admit any ignorance or weakness whatever in the mind of Jesus, even as a child.¹¹⁸

The Savior's human nature is, then, complete and perfect in itself. Furthermore, this nature is united to the Word. How does St. Augustine understand this union, which, after his death, was to become in the East the subject of so many disputes? We may answer that he understood it in such a way that, notwithstanding a few inaccurate expressions on his part, Nestorianism and Monophysitism, which came after him, could not get a foothold in the West. In Jesus the Word and man are united; this union, or rather this unity, has not been effected, however, through the transformation of the Word into man, nor of man into the Word; nor has it been effected through the mixture, or combination, of the two. No, the two natures — the divine and the human — have remained distinct; Jesus Christ is God and man and is, therefore, a mediator; yet, between God and man there is a close union, which the Holy Doctor calls

¹¹⁶ *De Genesi ad litt.*, X, 34, 37; cf. *Epist.* CLXIV, 19.

¹¹⁷ *De trinit.*, I, 23; *Enarr. in psalm.* VI, 1.

¹¹⁸ *De peccator. meritis et remissione*, II, 48.

at times a mixture,¹¹⁹ and often compares to the union between the soul and the body,¹²⁰ but which he describes chiefly as a personal and hypostatic union. The Word and man compose and are only one and the same person, the person of the Word,—a unity and a union which began with the existence of Christ's humanity, and which consequently this humanity could not merit. On all these points it would be easy to quote text after text. The following may suffice:

“Quia omnipotens erat (Verbum), fieri potuit, manens quod erat. . . . Quod Verbum caro factum est, non Verbum in carnum pereundo cessit, sed caro ad Verbum, ne ipsa periret, accessit. . . . Idem Deus qui homo, et qui Deus idem homo, non confusione naturarum sed unitate personae.¹²¹—Ipse Deus Deus manet; accedit homo Deo, et fit una persona, ut sit non semideus, quasi parte Dei Deus, et parte hominis homo, sed totus Deus et totus homo.¹²²—In unitate personae copulans utramque naturam.¹²³—Per hoc enim mediator per quod homo; per hoc et via. . . . Sola est autem adversus omnes errores via munitissima, ut idem ipse sit Deus et homo: quo itur, Deus, qua itur, homo.¹²⁴—Sicut in unitate personae anima unitur corpori ut homo sit; ita in unitate personae Deus unitur homini ut Christus sit.¹²⁵—Ipse homo nunquam ita fuit homo ut non esset unigenitus Filius Dei, propter unigenitum Verbum.¹²⁶—Modus iste quo natus est Christus . . . insinuat nobis gratiam

¹¹⁹ *Epist.* CXXXVII, 11; *De trinit.*, IV, 30.

¹²⁰ *Epist.* CXXXVII, 11; *In Ioan.*, tract. XIX, 15.

¹²¹ *Sermo* CLXXXVI, 1.

¹²² *Sermo* CCXCIII, 7.

¹²³ *Epist.* CXXXVII, 9; cf. 12; *Contra Maximinum*, II, 10, 2; *Contra sermon. arianor.*, 7.

¹²⁴ *De civit. Dei*, XII, 2; cf. *Confession.*, X, 67, 68; *Enchiridion*, CVIII; *In Ioan.*, tract. XLII, 8.

¹²⁵ *Epist.* CXXXVII, 11; *In Ioan.*, tract. XIX, 15. About the unity of person, see also *Enchiridion*, XXXV, XLI; *In Ioan.*, tract. XXVII, 4.

¹²⁶ *Contra Iulian. opus imperf.*, I, 138.

Dei, qua homo, nullis praecedentibus meritis, in ipso exordio naturae suae quo esse coepit, Verbo Deo copularetur in tantam personae unitatem ut idem ipse esset filius Dei quo filius hominis, et filius hominis qui filius Dei.”¹²⁷

From this doctrine St. Augustine infers (1) that there is in Jesus Christ one Son only, God's natural Son: “*Unus Dei filius, idemque hominis filius, unus hominis filius, idemque Dei filius, non duo filii Dei, Deus et homo, sed unus Dei filius.*”¹²⁸ “*Lege Scripturas, nunquam invenies de Christo dictum quod adoptivus sit Filius Dei.*”¹²⁹ (2) He infers also the *communicatio idiomatum*, of which he gives the grounds and the theory.¹³⁰ (3) Lastly, he concludes that it is the Word who, in Jesus Christ, imparts to man His divine personality: “*Non Verbum in carnem pereundo cessit, sed caro ad Verbum, ne ipsa periret, accessit.*”¹³¹ Christ is the “*Verbum Dei habens hominem;*” the Trinity remains; the assumption of the human nature by one of the divine Persons does not bring about a quaternity.¹³²

We can obtain fuller — though unnecessary — information on the Holy Doctor's Christological views from the Leporius episode. Leporius was a monk, who, under the pressure of a condemnation by the Gallo-Roman bishops, after sojourning for a while in Southern Gaul, had been obliged to leave for Africa. He repaired to Hippo, where St. Augustine convinced him of his error and made him sign a retraction, which is still extant, the *Libellus emendationis sive satisfactionis confessionem fidei catholicae continens de mysterio incarnationis Christi*;¹³³ it dates from

¹²⁷ *Enchiridion*, XL; *Sermo* CLXXIV, 2; *De praedestin. sanctorum*, 30.

¹²⁸ *Enchiridion*, XXXV.

¹²⁹ *Contra Secundinum*, 5.

¹³⁰ *De trinit.*, I, 28, foll.; *Sermo* CCXIII, 3.

¹³¹ *Sermo* CLXXXVI, 1.

¹³² *In Ioan.*, tract. XIX, 15; *Sermo* CXXX, 3.

¹³³ *P. L.*, XXXI.

the years 415-420. In addition we possess a letter which the Saint is said to have dictated, the CCIXth letter. Now these documents show that Leporius' view was a sort of mingling of what was later called Nestorianism and Pelagianism. It was not God who was born, but only a perfect man (*Libell.*, 2); the Word had remained alien to the sufferings of the human nature, which would have suffered by its own power, without the help of the divine nature (9); finally, Jesus Christ, as man, was subject to ignorance (*secundum hominem ignorare*, 10). Leporius recanted all these errors. He professed his belief that there was in Jesus the *communicatio idiomatum* (3, 6), the personal union of the humanity with the Word (4, 5), the unity of natural, not adoptive sonship (6), yet without confusion of the two natures (4). Lastly he condemned what he had advanced concerning Christ's ignorance, "*quia dici non licet etiam secundum hominem ignorasse Dominum prophetarum*" (10).—Some Nestorian teachings in the writings of Julian of Eclanum are also pointed out and reproved by St. Augustine.¹³⁴ Nestorianism and Pelagianism were bound together by close relations which will appear later: both tended to separate man from God.

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* *

The coming of Jesus upon earth had a very definite purpose, the redemption of guilty man and his deliverance from sin, for "*si homo non perisset, Filius hominis non venisset.*"¹³⁵ The Holy Doctor, it is true, enlarged upon the part played by the Redeemer's teaching and example in the general work of our salvation,¹³⁶ and also dwelt upon the

¹³⁴ *Contra Iulian. op. imperf.* IV, 84.

¹³⁵ *Sermo* CLXXIV, 2.

¹³⁶ *De vera religione*, 3, 30-32; *De agone christiano*, 12; *De trinit.*, XIII, 22.

wisdom of God who, in order to bring us back to Himself, chose from the many means at His disposal, the Incarnation of His Son, our model and our teacher;¹³⁷ but he likewise pointed out very clearly that for us the death of Jesus had not only the value of an example, but also that, by the will of God, it had, in itself, a redeeming value and efficacy.¹³⁸

How does he conceive this redemption? St. Augustine has set forth successively all the various ways in which his predecessors had conceived this mystery. First, the idea of *substitution*: "*Confitere (Christum) suscepisse poenam peccati nostri sine peccato nostro.*"¹³⁹—"Non enim ipse ulla delicta habuit, sed nostra portavit."¹⁴⁰ Then, the idea of *ransom*: through sin and death which he transmitted to us, the first Adam had enslaved us under hereditary evils; the second Adam pays for us what personally He did not owe at all, and thus frees us: "*quo pro nobis solvente quod non debebat, a debitis et paternis et propriis liberati sumus.*"¹⁴¹ Next, the idea of *satisfaction*: "*Suscepit Christus sine reatu supplicium nostrum ut inde solveret reatum nostrum et finiret etiam supplicium nostrum.*"¹⁴² Finally, the idea of *expiatory and propitiatory sacrifice*: Jesus is priest and victim at the same time,¹⁴³ a victim and a sacrifice for our sins.¹⁴⁴ So He freely gives His life for us.¹⁴⁵ He dies, and through His death, which is a true sacrifice, He blots out and eliminates our sins: "*Morte sua quippe uno vero sacrificio pro nobis oblato quidquid*

¹³⁷ *De agone christiano*, 12; *De trinit.*, XIII, 21.

¹³⁸ *In Ioan.*, tract. XCVIII, 3.

¹³⁹ *Contra Faustum*, XIV, 6, 7.

¹⁴⁰ *Tract. adv. Iudaeos*, 6.

¹⁴¹ *De trinit.*, XIII, 21; *Enarr. in psalm.* CXXIX, 3.

¹⁴² *Contra Faustum*, XIV, 4.

¹⁴³ *Enarr. in psalm.* CXXXII, 7.

¹⁴⁴ *Sermo* CLII, 10, 11.

¹⁴⁵ *In Ioan. tract.* XLVII, 11; cf. *De trinit.*, XIII, 18.

culparum erat . . . purgavit, abolevit, exstinxit." ¹⁴⁶ He appeases the wrath of God and reconciles us with Him: "*Hoc holocaustum (Christus) obtulit Deo: extendit manus in cruce . . . et impietates nostrae propitiatae sunt. . . . Propitiatis autem peccatis nostris et impietatibus per illud sacrificium vespertinum, transimus ad Dominum, et aufertur velamen.*" ¹⁴⁷ The theory of the devil's rights, St. Augustine does not accept. ¹⁴⁸ He declares formally that those so called rights of Satan over us were a concession on the part of God, that our deliverance would have been just, even though wrought by violence and without the payment of any ransom whatever. ¹⁴⁹ He substitutes the theory of the abuse of power, borrowed from St. Ambrose. In consequence of the sin of Adam, and with God's permission, the whole human race had been made subject to Satan. But it happened that Satan put to death the only one over whom he had no right, no power whatever, since Jesus was without sin. This abuse has been punished by the withdrawal of the devil's dominion over those whom he had held captive, until then, and who believe in Jesus Christ. Thus, it is in strict justice and not purely by the power of God and of Jesus, that Satan has been conquered and despoiled. ¹⁵⁰

The Bishop of Hippo affirms that, in principle, this redemption is universal, for all men, although, in fact, only those who are willing to profit by it, share in it: "*Sanguis Domini tui, si vis, datus est pro te; si nolueris esse, non est datus pro te. . . . Semel dedit, et pro omnibus dedit.*" ¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ *De trinit.*, IV, 17; *Sermo CXXXIV*, 5.

¹⁴⁷ *Enarr. in psalm. LXIV*, 6; *De natura et gratia*, 2; *Enchiridion*, XXXIII, XLI.

¹⁴⁸ However, he conforms his language to that theory, once at least, *De trinit.*, XIII, 19.

¹⁴⁹ *De trinit.*, XIII, 18.

¹⁵⁰ *De trinit.*, XIII, 16, 18.

¹⁵¹ *Sermo CCXLIV*, 5; *CCXCII*, 4; *CCCIV*, 2. This point will be treated more fully later on.

Jesus did not die for the angels. His death is profitable only to the good angels; inasmuch as it has restored between them and men the peace which sin had disturbed, and has prepared the elect to fill in heaven the places made vacant by the revolt of Lucifer and his followers.¹⁵²

§ 7. Ecclesiology. Donatist Controversy.¹⁵³

It is chiefly in the Donatist controversy that St. Augustine set forth at length his doctrine on the Church.

His fundamental idea is that the Church is but one with Jesus Christ: she is the body of which He is the head; consequently Jesus lives in her, and through her, continues to pray and work here below: "*Unus ergo homo Christus caput et corpus. Quod est corpus eius? Ecclesia eius.*"¹⁵⁴ Hence we must distinguish, in the words of Jesus Christ, those which He spoke in His own name from those which He spoke as the head of the Church, that is, as though the Church spoke through His mouth; for many words are adapted to Him, only when He is considered in the latter aspect: "*Dicturus est quaedam in hoc psalmo quae quasi Christo videantur non posse congruere . . . et tamen Christus loquitur, quia in membris Christi Christus. . . . Loquatur ergo Christus, quia in Christo loquitur Ecclesia, et in Ecclesia loquitur Christus, et corpus in capite, et caput in corpore.*"¹⁵⁵

The Church, since she is the body and spouse of Jesus, is our mother, a virgin-mother, from whom we have no

¹⁵² *Enchiridion*, LXI, LXII.

¹⁵³ Works: H. REUTER, *Augustinische Studien*, Gotha, 1887. E. COMMER, *Die Catholicität nach dem hl. Augustinus*, Breslau, 1873. Th. SPECHT, *Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustinus*, Paderborn, 1892. J. MARTIN, *Saint Augustin*, Paris, 1901.

¹⁵⁴ *Enarr. in psalm. CXXVII*, 3; in *psalm. XXX*, *enarr. II, sermo I*, 4; in *psalm. CXXXVIII*, 2.

¹⁵⁵ *Enarr. in psalm. XXX*, *enarr. II, sermo I*, 4; in *psalm. CXXXVIII*, 2; in *psalm. CXL*, 3, 6, 7; in *psalm. CXLII*, 3, etc.; *Epist. CXL*, 18.

more right to part than to part from Jesus and God.¹⁵⁶ Again, she is God's kingdom on earth. As he sets aside millenarianism definitely and sees the redemption in the first resurrection, the Bishop of Hippo sees in the reign of Christ which follows this first resurrection, His dominion on earth through the Church.¹⁵⁷ Then too, this Church is not made up exclusively of the faithful who are now living, but embraces also the faithful departed and those who are yet to live in the course of ages: "*Corpus autem eius est Ecclesia, non ista aut illa, sed toto orbe diffusa; nec ea quae nunc est in hominibus qui praesentem vitam agunt, sed ad eam pertinentibus etiam qui fuerunt ante nos, et his qui futuri sunt post nos usque in finem saeculi.*"¹⁵⁸

The first characteristic of the Church is unity. There is, of course, only one true Church, since there is only one spouse of Christ; moreover union and unity prevail in the Church, and whoever is outside this unity is outside the Church. Unity of faith: unlike philosophical schools, the city of God does not admit of diverse and contrary views on the part of its members; those who profess unsound doctrines, who do not heed the warnings they receive, become heretics and are looked upon as enemies.¹⁵⁹ Heresies have their source in the love of argumentation and attachment to one's own views.¹⁶⁰ Unity of mutual affection, which is directly opposed to schism and is ruined by schism. This unity is figured by Our Lord's seamless tunic¹⁶¹ and preserved chiefly by charity. For, strictly speaking, schismatics may preserve their faith unspotted, but their faith

¹⁵⁶ *Enarr. in psalm. LXXXVIII, sermo II, 14; Sermo CXCII, 2; Contra Faustum, XV, 3.*

¹⁵⁷ *De civit. Dei, XX, 9, 1.*

¹⁵⁸ *Enarr. in psalm. LVI, 1; Enchiridion, LVI.*

¹⁵⁹ *De civit. Dei, XVIII, 51, 1.*

¹⁶⁰ *Epist. CXVIII, 32; De utilit. credendi, 20, 21.*

¹⁶¹ *Sermo CCLXV, 7.*

is not one which charity vivifies, nor is it a *pious* faith.¹⁶² In the eyes of St. Augustine, this union through mutual love and harmony of souls, is the great principle of the Church's internal unity, and one on which the Holy Doctor insists again and again.¹⁶³ This moral and internal unity lies closer to his heart than the exterior and social unity whose bond is found in the hierarchy.

The subject of the holiness of the Church brought him more directly face to face with the Donatists. As has already been said, they excluded from the Church public sinners whose presence would pollute her: the Church must be made up only of saints. The Bishop of Hippo withstood this excessive rigorism. The Church is the field where tares grow together with wheat, the net which contains both good and bad fish. The interest of the community and their own interest may demand at times that the Church expel those bad Christians from her bosom by excommunication; but more often, the interest of unity demands that she pay no attention, or at least seem to pay no attention to them.¹⁶⁴ The just must part company with them, "*vita, moribus, corde et voluntate*;" the material separation will take place only at the end of the world.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the just are not stained by contact with sinners, nor can the crime of a few *traditores* destroy the sanctity of the Church;¹⁶⁶ the more so since, being a society, her sanctity does not consist essentially in the holiness of each one of the faithful, but in the fact that her doctrine, sacraments, ministry, nay, her very existence have for their aim the sanctification of souls,

¹⁶² *Contra Cresconium*, I, 34.

¹⁶³ *Contra Cresconium*, I, 34; *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 172; *Sermo* CCLXV, 7.

¹⁶⁴ *Brevicul. collationis*, III, 16; *Contra litter. Petiliani*, I, 25; III, 43; *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, III, 13.

¹⁶⁵ *Contra litter. Petiliani*, III, 4.

¹⁶⁶ *Contra Cresconium*, II, 46, 47; *Brevic. collationis*, III, 17; *De unico baptismo*, 31.

and effect this sanctification through the spread of the truth and the transformation of conduct.¹⁶⁷ So that all that has been and is still holy upon earth, comes from the Church and belongs to her; in her and through her only can we arrive at perfection and practise genuine virtues: "*Omnes quotquot fuerunt sancti ad ipsam Ecclesiam pertinent.*"¹⁶⁸ "*Non ubicumque turtur inveniatur nidum sibi, ubi ponat pullos suos: in fide vera, in fide catholica, in societate unitatis Ecclesiae pariat opera sua.*"¹⁶⁹

Considered in her members, the Church, then, is a "*corpus permixtum.*" In this mixture, however, St. Augustine distinguishes an "*invisibilis caritatis compago,*" "members of the Dove," which, properly speaking make up the body of Christ.¹⁷⁰ They constitute that Church which is the well-beloved of the Canticle of Canticles, the closed garden, the sealed fountain, the spring of living water; they are in the house of God, nay, they are the house itself.¹⁷¹ It is the Church of the just. Beside them are found sinners, who are not the house of God nor do they belong to the house of God, but only dwell in it: "*alios autem ita dici esse in domo, ut non pertineant ad compagem domus, nec ad societatem fructiferæ pacificæque iustitiæ.*"¹⁷² Even though they share in His sacraments, they do not truly belong to the body of Jesus Christ.¹⁷³ But, then, are there two Churches, one of the just, the other, of the sinners? The Donatists accused the Catholics of holding this view.¹⁷⁴ St. Augustine rejects the accusation. He grants, indeed, that

¹⁶⁷ *De utilitate credendi*, 35.

¹⁶⁸ *Sermo* IV, II.

¹⁶⁹ *Enarr. in psalm.* LXXXIII, 7; *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, III, 29.

¹⁷⁰ *De baptismo*, III, 26; V, 29; *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 247.

¹⁷¹ *De baptismo*, VII, 99.

¹⁷² *De baptismo*, VII, 99; V, 29.

¹⁷³ *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 247.

¹⁷⁴ *Brevicul. collationis*, III, 19; Tychonius spoke of *corpus bipartitum* (*De doctrina christiana*, III, 45).

there is a body of Christ "*verum atque permixtum, verum atque simulatum*,"¹⁷⁵ and that there is in fact in the Church a spiritual separation between the just and the wicked, just as there is a separation between good Catholics and heretics. The wicked are interiorly outside the Church of the just, although they belong materially to the community of the saints;¹⁷⁶ but he denies that we are on this account justified in speaking of two Churches, and that the invisible Church should separate herself externally from the other: "*Tanquam unum sit utrorumque corpus propter temporalem commixtionem et communionem sacramentorum*."¹⁷⁷ "*Nos istam recessionem spiritualiter intellegimus, illi (donatistae) corporaliter*."¹⁷⁸

Now it is true that in some places St. Augustine seems to identify the invisible Church of the just with that of the elect.¹⁷⁹ Elsewhere, however, he himself observes that this identification is not accurate, and that the "*numerus certus sanctorum praedestinatorum*" includes not only those who live by the Spirit, but also some men who are actually impenitent sinners, and even some heretics and infidels.¹⁸⁰

A third privilege of the Church is catholicity: "*Prope omnis pagina nihil aliud sonat quam Christum et Ecclesiam toto orbe diffusam*."¹⁸¹ Donatism, which does not extend

¹⁷⁵ *De doct. christiana*, III, 45.

¹⁷⁶ "Sive intus versari videantur, sive aperte foris sint, quod caro est caro est: sive in area in sua sterilitate perseverent, sive occasione tentationis tanquam vento extra tollantur, quod palea est palea est. Et semper ab illius Ecclesiae quae sine macula et ruga est unitate divisus est, etiam qui congregationi sanctorum in carnali obduratione miscetur." *De baptismo*, I, 26, 14; VI, 5; VII, 99; *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, III, 12.

¹⁷⁷ *De doct. christiana*, III, 45.

¹⁷⁸ *Sermo LXXXVIII*, 23, 22; *CCXIV*, 11; *Brevic. collationis*, III, 20; *De baptismo*, VII, 99.

¹⁷⁹ *Sermo CCXIV*, 11; *De doct. christ.*, III, 45; and compare *De baptismo*, V, 38, with VII, 99.

¹⁸⁰ *De baptismo*, V, 38.

¹⁸¹ *Sermo XLVI*, 33; *Epist. XLIX*, 2, 3; *LII*, 1, 2; *CLXXX*, 5.

beyond Africa, is lacking in that catholicity; ¹⁸² the other sects are also lacking in it; for if we take them all together, of course we may find that, like the true Church, they are spread all over the world, but, nevertheless, they are not catholic, because they do not make one body, and each exists in a definite place. ¹⁸³

Finally, the true Church must be apostolic, in the sense that her pastors and bishops must be the Apostles' successors: "*Genuerunt te apostoli; ipsi missi sunt, ipsi praedicaverunt, ipsi patres. . . . Patres missi sunt apostoli, pro apostolis filii nati sunt tibi, constituti sunt episcopi. . . . Non ergo te putes desertam, quia non vides Petrum, quia non vides illos per quos nata es: de prole tua tibi crevit paternitas.*" ¹⁸⁴ And to prove that Catholics truly possess this apostolicity, St. Augustine, following in the footsteps of St. Irenæus, draws up the list of the Roman bishops as far as Anastasius, with whom Catholics are in communion. ¹⁸⁵

With these arguments the controversy with the Donatists concerning the true Church came to a close; but St. Augustine goes farther. To be saved, he declares, one must belong to this Church; after St. Cyprian, he repeats the axiom: "*Salus extra Ecclesiam non est.*" ¹⁸⁶ Outside the Church neither means of sanctification, nor baptism, nor even martyrdom are profitable in any way, nor is the Holy Spirit imparted. ¹⁸⁷ He proclaims the Church indefectible and enduring till the end of the world. She cannot perish or fall under Satan's attacks; ¹⁸⁸ he declares her infallible

¹⁸² *Contra litt. Petiliani*, II, 90; *Epist.* XCIII, 22.

¹⁸³ *Sermo* XLVI, 18.

¹⁸⁴ *Enarr. in psalm.* XLIV, 32.

¹⁸⁵ *Epist.* LIII, 2; and cf. *Epist.* XLIV, 3; XLIX, 2.

¹⁸⁶ *De baptismo*, IV, 24.

¹⁸⁷ *De baptismo*, IV, 24; VII, 87; *Sermo* LXXI, 30; CCLXVIII, 2.

¹⁸⁸ *Contra litter. Petiliani*, III, 43; *Sermo* XLVI, 33; *De civit. Dei*, XX, 8, 1.

in her teachings. This is a consequence of her union with Jesus Christ and of her apostolicity.¹⁸⁹

The Holy Doctor acknowledged, just as we do, two especially important organs of the Church's teaching,—the Bishop of Rome and the Councils. What did he think of their authority?

Like St. Cyprian, St. Augustine looks upon St. Peter as representing the unity of the Church and of the Apostolic College; moreover, he sees in him the Apostle who has received the primacy: "*propter primatum quem in discipulos habuit.*"¹⁹⁰ Hence the Roman Church, which is the see of Peter "*cui pascendas oves suas post resurrectionem Dominus commendavit,*"¹⁹¹ is the Church "*in qua semper apostolicae cathedrae vigit principatus.*"¹⁹² By communing with her, one is joined to the Apostles and is himself in the true Church.¹⁹³

The Holy Doctor admits that one can appeal from his own judgment to the see of Rome.¹⁹⁴ Does he also attribute to the Pope an infallible and supreme teaching authority? To this question no definite answer can be given. The texts that have been advanced in favor of the negative are by no means conclusive.¹⁹⁵ The texts quoted in favor of the affirmative are also indeterminate: for they refer not to the Pope speaking alone, but to the Pope in conjunction with the Council: which is quite different.¹⁹⁶

¹⁸⁹ *Enarr. in psalm. CIII, sermo I, 17; Sermo CCXCIV, 18.*

¹⁹⁰ *Enarr. in psalm. CVIII, 1; Sermo XLVI, 30; CCXCV, 2; cf. CXLVII, 2.*

¹⁹¹ *Contra epist. fundamenti, 5.*

¹⁹² *Epist. XLIII, 7.*

¹⁹³ *Epist. XLIII, 7; LIII, 2; Contra epist. fundamenti, 5.*

¹⁹⁴ *Epist. CCIX.*

¹⁹⁵ These texts are *Epist. XXXVI, 22; CLXXVII, 2; CXCI, 2; De gratia Christi et de peccato originali, II, 9, 24.* They refer to mere disciplinary questions and to an error of Zosimus that does not bear on dogma. The texts of *Epist. XLIII, 19* and *De baptismo, II, 15*, are, on the whole, just as inconclusive.

¹⁹⁶ See the texts, a few lines below.

St. Augustine is also indefinite on the question of the authority of councils. He distinguishes at least two classes of councils: provincial councils and plenary councils. The latter are those "*quae fiunt ex universo orbe christiano*;"¹⁹⁷ and yet, the Saint calls "*plenarium concilium*" the Council which decided against St. Cyprian the question of the baptism of heretics, *i. e.*, probably the Council of Arles of the year 314, which was merely local.¹⁹⁸ He looks upon the decision of a plenary council as supreme; once this decision has been given, all controversy must cease;¹⁹⁹ and yet he writes: "*ipsaque plenaria (concilia) saepe priora posterioribus emendari.*"²⁰⁰ There seems to be some obscurity on this point. At any rate, the Saint does not hesitate to tell Julian of Eclanum that, even in the absence of all the bishops of the East, the authority of the Western Churches must suffice to convince him, *because of Peter's presence*: "*Puto tibi eam partem orbis sufficere debere in qua primum apostolorum suorum voluit Dominus gloriosissimo martyrio coronare.*"²⁰¹ And in Sermon CXXXI, 10, after recalling the decisions of the respective Councils of Carthage and of Milevis against the Pelagians, and the assent of Rome, he exclaims: "*Causa finita est: utinam aliquando finiatur error!*"²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ *De baptismo*, II, 4.

¹⁹⁸ *De baptismo*, IV, 8.

¹⁹⁹ *Sermo CCXCIV*, 20; *De baptismo*, I, 9.

²⁰⁰ *De baptismo*, II, 4. In his article *S. Augustin* in the *Dict. de théol. cathol.*, vol. I, col. 2414, M. Portalié thinks that the Bishop of Hippo distinguishes three kinds of councils: particular or provincial councils, plenary local councils and ecumenical or general councils, properly so called. The text quoted above would refer merely to plenary local councils, or again the word *emendari* would designate merely disciplinary measures. All this is possible, but is not found clearly in the text. St. Augustine's meaning remains somewhat obscure.

²⁰¹ *Contra Iulianum*, I, 13.

²⁰² The full text is as follows: "Iam enim de hac causa duo concilia missa sunt ad sedem apostolicam: inde etiam rescripta venerunt.

There still remains the problem of the relations between Church and State—a problem which had arisen as a result of the conversion of the emperors to Christianity, and of the growth of the Church. Some passages of the *City of God* ²⁰³ give the impression that at times St. Augustine contrasted the State with the Church, as the city of Satan with that of God, the city of evil with that of good. But it would be a mistake to exaggerate the significance of these passages. On the contrary, the Holy Doctor deems the State, civil society, necessary and willed by Divine Providence: “*Prorsus divina providentia regna constituuntur humana.*” ²⁰⁴ In time of war, a soldier must obey his prince, unless he is absolutely sure that his is an unjust cause. ²⁰⁵ However, empires are good only in so far as justice reigns in them: “*Remota igitur iustitia, quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?*” ²⁰⁶ Now, all true justice, all genuine and complete virtue comes from the Gospel and is found only in the Church. The prince, the State must, then, be Christian; they must bind themselves to the Church, that they may receive from her the moral element, the element of justice which they need; they must protect her, in order to protect that element in her and thus protect themselves indirectly. Not, indeed, that the State can have an ecclesiastical policy of its own, independent of the Church; no, but it must aid and help the Church, according to her needs and desires: “*Felices eos (imperatores) dicimus, si iuste imperant . . . si suam potestatem ad Dei cultum maxime dilatandum maiestati eius famulam faciant,*

Causa finita est: utinam aliquando finiatur error!” The famous passage *Roma locuta est: causa finita est*, has been worked out of these words; but it is not found in the works of St. Augustine.

²⁰³ For instance, XIV, 28; XV, 4.

²⁰⁴ *De civit. Dei*, V, 1; cf. XV, 4; XVIII, 2, 1.

²⁰⁵ *Contra Faustum*, XXII, 75; cf. 76-79.

²⁰⁶ *De civit. Dei*, IV, 4.

si Deum timent, diligunt, colunt: si plus amant illud regnum, ubi non timent habere consortes."²⁰⁷

Hence it follows that the prince must defend the Church against her enemies and repress the error which rises against her, whether this error is idolatry or heresy. This is the doctrine of political intolerance. What were the views of St. Augustine on the subject?

Previous to his time, the question had been practically settled by the emperors themselves, who had proscribed, under pain of severe punishments, both certain pagan rites and certain heresies. So, it was not a matter of giving the direction to the policy of the emperors, but rather of judging that policy, by justifying or condemning their legislation. Now, it has been said that St. Augustine changed his views on this point, that, after first opposing any repressive action on the part of the secular power against error, he later was willing, even demanded that repression be used. The treatise *Contra epistolam fundamenti*, 2, and letter XCIII, 17, have been quoted in favor of this view. But such a conclusion is unwarranted. What is true is that at first St. Augustine did not think it wise to impose upon schismatics and heretics even exterior profession of the true faith, because of the risk of making them hypocrites. This he states expressly in letter XCIII, 17.²⁰⁸ It is true also, that he always condemned as excessive the death-penalty and some exceptionally severe punishments inflicted upon dissenters. He was unwilling to have these punishments applied even in the case of those Donatists who committed against the Catholics some grave injustice condemned by the laws of the land.²⁰⁹ Finally St. Augustine, who was

²⁰⁷ *De civit. Dei*, V, 24; XV, 2; *Epist.* CV, 11; CXXXVIII, 14; CLXXXV, 8, 19.

²⁰⁸ Cf. also *Epist.* XXIII, 7; *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 184: "ad fidem quidem nullus est cogendus invitus."

²⁰⁹ *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 46, 191, 206; *Epist.* XCI, 9; C, 1, 2;

naturally kind and forbearing, often interceded with the civil magistrates, in order to obtain for culprits some mitigation of the rigors of the law.²¹⁰ But, on the other hand, he proclaimed always the legitimacy not only of the severe measures taken for the purpose of repressing the excesses of the Donatists and Circumcellions, but also of the moderate punishments—fine, prison, exile—pronounced against these and all other dissenters, as heretics and schismatics. Texts expressing this view are found from the year 393–396, when the *Psalmus contra partem Donati* was written, till the year 404—when some claim that he changed his doctrines—and even later.²¹¹ The *Contra epistulam Parmeniani* which dates from the year 400, is particularly precise on this point. The author claims for the emperors the right to chastise those who preach a false doctrine, on the same ground that they chastise idolaters and poisoners.²¹² These measures are intended to bring

CIII, 3; CIV, 5; CXXXIII, 1; CXXXIV, 2, 4; CXXXIX, 2; CLXXXV, 26; CCIV, 3. It must be observed, however, that St. Augustine approves the law pronouncing death-penalty against those pagans who offer up sacrifices (*Epist.* XCIII, 10).

²¹⁰ *Epist.* XXIII, 7; XXXIV, 1, 5, etc.

²¹¹ See the texts in J. MARTIN, *Op. cit.*, p. 373 and foll.

²¹² "Prius enim probent se non esse haereticos vel schismaticos, tum demum de indignis poenis suis lividam emittant vocem, tum demum sese audeant, cum mali aliquid patiuntur, veritatis martyres dicere" (I, 13). "An forte dicent, etiamsi convincuntur in sacrilega dissensione . . . non tamen ad imperatorum potestatem haec coercenda vel punienda pertinere debere. Qua in re quaero quid dicant: an quia de religione vitiosa vel falsa nihil curandum est talibus potestatibus? Sed multa iam etiam de paganis diximus, et de ipsis daemonibus, quod persecutiones ab imperatoribus patiantur. An et hoc displicet? . . . Quid istis videatur ut crimen idololatriae putent iuste ab imperatoribus vindicari, aut si nec hoc volunt, cur in veneficos vigorem legum exerceri iuste fateantur; in haereticos autem atque impias dissensiones nolint fateri, cum in iisdem iniquitatis fructibus auctoritate apostolica numerentur. An forte nec talia potestates istae humanae constitutionis permittuntur curare? Propter quid ergo gladium portat qui dictus est minister Dei vindex in iram eis qui male agunt?" (I, 16).

to reason those to whom they are applied and to protect the weak against the unjust oppression of the wicked and such is actually their effect.²¹³ Hence the just are not always those who are persecuted; they may become persecutors. It is not the torture itself which makes the true martyr, but the cause for which he suffers: "*quod martyres veros non faciat poena sed causa.*"²¹⁴

This was, until the year 404, St. Augustine's teaching on the subject before us. That same year, he took another step. Till then, as we have seen, he had not held that it was just to force the Donatists to give up their schism and profess the Catholic faith. The Council of Carthage took another view; the actual result was that many Donatists, who first appeared to be the victims of violence, were actually glad to be treated in that way and came back in all sincerity to the bosom of the Church.²¹⁵ The Holy Doctor had to bow before facts. Force did not make only hypocrites. His ideas were thus modified and he became convinced that, after all, the freedom of error is the worst evil of the soul, and that one was doing service to men, in depriving them of it.²¹⁶ The text *Compelle intrare* seemed to him the Biblical justification of the measures which he had previously condemned; he concluded in these words: "*In saepibus haerent (haeretici), cogi nolunt. Voluntate, iniquiunt, nostra intremus. Non hoc Dominus imperavit: Coge, inquit, intrare. Foris inveniatur necessitas, nascitur intus voluntas.*"²¹⁷ The theory of the right of the State to repress heresy had been formulated.

²¹³ *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 186; *Epist.* CV, 5.

²¹⁴ *Epist.* LXXXIX, 2; XLIV, 7; *Contra epist. Parmeniani*; *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 184; *Contra Cresconium*, III, 51, etc.

²¹⁵ *Epist.* XCIII, 16-18; CLXXXV, 13.

²¹⁶ *Epist.* CV, 10.

²¹⁷ *Sermo* CXII, 8.

§ 8. The Sacraments, Baptism, Confirmation. Donatist Controversy,²¹⁸

The controversy with the Donatists bore not only on the notion of the Church, but also on the conditions of the validity of the sacraments; thus it gave to St. Augustine the opportunity of expressing his ideas on the subject and of advancing certain views which brought about real progress in sacramental theology.

In his eyes, a sacrament is first the sensible sign of a sacred thing: "*(Signa) cum ad res divinas pertinent, sacramenta appellantur.*"²¹⁹ Hence in every sacrament there are two elements, a material and visible object, which signifies something, and an unseen and spiritual object which is signified and represented: "*Ideo dicuntur sacramenta quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intellegitur.*"²²⁰ This is the distinction between the *sacramentum* — a word which the Saint uses often in a restricted sense to designate merely the material object, the sign — and the *res*, the *virtus sacramenti*, which designates the spiritual and sacred reality: "*Nam et nos hodie accipimus visibile cibum . . . sed aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti.*"²²¹

Now, between these two elements there is a relation of similitude: the material element represents in some way, by its very nature, the reality of which it is the sign: "*Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino sacramenta non*

²¹⁸ Works: J. HYMMEN, *Die Sakramentslehre Augustins in Zusammenhang dargestellt und beurteilt*, Bonn, 1905. P. POURRAT, *La théologie sacramentaire*, Paris, 1907 [English transl.].

²¹⁹ *Epist. CXXXVIII*, 7; cf. *De civit. Dei*, X, 5.

²²⁰ *Sermo CCLXXII*; and also: "Signacula quidem rerum divinarum esse visibilia, sed res ipsas invisibiles in eis honorari" (*De catechiz. rudibus*, 50).

²²¹ *In Ioan.*, tract. XXVI, II.

essent."²²² Since they are of divine institution, as theologians will say later, the sacraments are not purely conventional signs; they are, to a great extent, natural signs; the divine will which has definitely established the relation between the sign and the thing signified, has found in the mode of being, or of acting, of the symbol some ground for the choice of that symbol.²²³

A sacrament is, then, for St. Augustine, first, the sign — both natural and conventional — of a sacred thing. It can be nothing else; and it is in this sense that the Holy Doctor gives the name of sacrament to the blessed salt placed on the lips of the candidate in baptism,²²⁴ to the baptismal exorcisms,²²⁵ even to the *traditio* of the creed and of the Lord's prayer to the catechumens.²²⁶ Likewise, the rites of the Old Law — except circumcision — which while announcing Christ and salvation, did not communicate them, were also sacraments in this sense.²²⁷ However, besides this broad meaning according to which a sacrament is a mere sign, St. Augustine gives often to the word sacrament a stricter meaning quite similar to our concept of a sacrament. In fact, among these sacred rites, the Holy Doctor distinguishes some that are not mere signs of a corresponding spiritual reality, but, when conferred, imply unquestionably the production of this spiritual reality. To the *sacramentum* there is attached its *res* or *virtus*, when this sacrament is produced and received under proper conditions; thus, for instance, spiritual regeneration is the *res* or *virtus* of baptism; the Person of the Holy Ghost, that of confirmation; life, the fruit of the food that is taken, is

²²² *Epist.* XCVIII, 9; cf. *Sermo* CCLXXII.

²²³ Cf. *De doctrina christiana*, II, 2, 3.

²²⁴ *De catechiz. rudibus*, 50.

²²⁵ *Sermo* CCXXVII.

²²⁶ *Sermo* CCXXVIII, 3.

²²⁷ *Enarr. in psalm.* LXXIII, 2; *Contra Faustum*, XIX, 13.

the *virtus* of the Eucharist; and in general, "grace is the virtue of the sacraments."²²⁸

This is the Augustinian concept of a sacrament strictly so called. We shall see further on whether the bond which thus connects the existence of the spiritual gift with the sensible sign is, properly speaking, a relation of causality. For the present, let us confine our attention to the material rite. This rite signifies grace and is bound up with the production of grace. Practically and directly, what raises it to this dignity and imparts to it this efficacy? For instance, what brings about the wonderful result that the water touches the body and cleanses the heart: "*Unde ista tanta virtus aquae ut corpus tangat et cor abluat?*"²²⁹ The Holy Doctor answers: It is the word: "*Quare non ait (Christus): mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis, sed ait: propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis, nisi quia et in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum.*"²³⁰ Some have seen in this text the proof that St. Augustine admitted in the sacramental rite itself—as distinct from the *res* or *virtus*—two elements, the one, a material object or a visible action; the other, words, the words giving to the action or to the material object its sanctifying efficacy. It is true, St. Augustine's text does not exclude this explanation; but it is probable that he did not restrict to the words which accompany the conferring of the rite—and which we call the *form*—the sanctifying efficacy of the sacrament. For him, as for St. Ambrose,²³¹ what makes the water capable of cleansing the heart in baptism is, first, the pre-

²²⁸ "Gratia quae sacramentorum virtus est," *Enarr. in psalm. LXXVII*, 2; *In Ioan. tract. XXVI*, 11; *XXVII*, 15.

²²⁹ *In Ioan. tract. LXXX*, 3.

²³⁰ *In Ioan. tract. LXXX*, 3.

²³¹ Cf. above, p. 305-306.

vious blessing which it receives: "*Quia baptismus id est salutis aqua non est salutis, nisi Christi nomine consecrata, qui pro nobis sanguinem fudit, cruce ipsius aqua signatur.*"²³² The Trinitarian formula has indeed its share in this sanctifying action, but this share is only secondary. Hence it is not certain that, in the text quoted above, the word *verbum* designates, and especially designates only, the invocation of the Blessed Trinity that accompanies the baptismal effusion; it may designate also the previous blessing of the water, and even the recitation of the creed by the candidate. In fact, does not St. Augustine add at the same place these significant words: "*Unde ista tanta virtus aquae ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo: non quia dicitur sed quia creditur? Nam et in ipso verbo aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens. . . . Mundatio igitur nequaquam fluxo et labili tribueretur elemento, nisi adderetur in verbo.*"²³³

Thus consisting of a visible rite and of a spiritual gift connected with it, the sacraments have Jesus Christ for their author. True, of two sacraments only — baptism and the Eucharist — the Holy Doctor expressly states that they were instituted by Him; but he adds: "*et si quid aliud in Scripturis canonicis commendatur.*"²³⁴

The Saint did not, it is true, think of determining the number of sacraments properly so called of the New Law, but, if we except penance and extreme unction, we find that he applies the name sacrament to all the rites to which we give that name: baptism, confirmation and the Eucharist,²³⁵

²³² *Sermo* CCCLII, 3; cf. *De baptismo*, V, 28; VI, 47.

²³³ *In Ioan.* tract. LXXX, 3. See POURRAT, *op. cit.*, p. 60 and foll. St. Augustine expresses the same views regarding confirmation and the Eucharist: these two sacraments also are made up of a matter and of a blessing (*Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 239; *De trinitate*, III, 10).

²³⁴ *Epist.* LIV, 1.

²³⁵ *De baptismo*, V, 28; *Contra Faustum*, XIX, 14, etc.

ordination, which he compares to baptism,²³⁶ and finally, matrimony.²³⁷ Baptism and the Eucharist are the chief sacraments, because they are the sacraments of the Christian initiation and spring from the open side of the Redeemer: "*Inde sacramenta manarunt quibus credentes initiantur.*"²³⁸

Sacraments have for their general purpose to bind together by means of sensible signs the members of the religious community.²³⁹ The sacraments of the Old Law had the added purpose of prophesying the Christ: "*praenuntiativa erant Christi venturi.*"²⁴⁰ They also differed from those of the New Law, in that they were numerous, burdensome and less efficacious, whereas those of the Church of Christ are "*virtute maiora, utilitate meliora, actu faciliora, numero pauciora.*"²⁴¹ Among the first, the Holy Doctor mentions especially circumcision which took the place of baptism for those who lived before Christ.²⁴²

Several of the doctrinal points summed up so far, were fixed by the Bishop of Hippo on the occasion of the Donatist controversy. But this controversy had a very special and definite object, which we must now take up. St. Cyprian and the rebaptizers had required faith on the part of the minister of a sacrament for the validity of that sacrament; the Donatists required, besides, at least external sanctity. Neither St. Cyprian nor the Donatists distinguished between sacramental validity and sacramental efficacy. St. Augustine had, then, to determine the part of the minister in the production and action of the sacra-

²³⁶ *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, II, 28; *De bono coniugali*, 32.

²³⁷ *De bono coniugali*, 32.

²³⁸ *De civit. Dei*, XV, 26, 1; *In Ioann.* tract. CXX, 2, etc.

²³⁹ *Contra Faustum*, XIX, 12; *Epist.* LI, 1.

²⁴⁰ *Contra Faustum*, XIX, 13; *Contra litter. Petiliani*, II, 87.

²⁴¹ *Contra Faustum*, XIX, 13; *De vera religione*, 28, 33; *De doctrina christiana*, III, 18; *Epist.* LIV, 1.

²⁴² *Epist.* CLXXXVII, 34.

ment, to say whether this part was as important as was claimed by the opponents. But this led him also naturally to state with accuracy the part of the subject and of the external rite. He was thus confronted with the whole question of sacramental validity and efficacy. The Bishop of Hippo treated of it especially in reference to the two sacraments of baptism and order, which were the chief point of the controversy with the Donatists; but both the principles which he formulated and those which his opponents marshalled against him are general and apply to all the rites that can be compared to these two rites.

St. Augustine first distinguishes explicitly the validity of a sacrament from its efficacy, *i. e.*, from the benefit which we derive from it; he remarks too that it was because of failure to make this distinction that St. Cyprian fell into error: "*Non distinguebatur sacramentum ab effectu, vel usu sacramenti.*"²⁴³ "*Aliud est non habere, aliud non utiliter habere.*"²⁴⁴ Thus a sacrament may exist, it may be valid, and yet the subject may not receive the grace which ought to accompany it.

Now, neither the faith nor the sanctity of the minister is required for sacramental validity. St. Augustine proves this proposition first by the custom of the Church of not repeating baptism or ordination in the case of those who, after receiving once these two sacraments, have gone over to schism or heresy, and afterwards returned to the Church. They do not receive again these sacraments, they have not forfeited them; and as they have not forfeited them, they can still exercise their prerogatives; therefore it is true that a rebellious priest baptizes validly, and a rebellious bishop confers orders validly.²⁴⁵

This is one reason. The Saint draws a second reason

²⁴³ *De baptismo*, VI, 1.

²⁴⁴ *De baptismo*, IV, 24; cf. I, 2, 18.

²⁴⁵ *De baptismo*, I, 2.

from the doctrine of character. Baptism and ordination are not repeated in the Church. Why? Because both stamp the one receiving them with an indelible character which remains even in schism and heresy: "*Nulla ostenditur causa cur ille qui ipsum baptismum amittere non potest, ius dandi potest amittere.*"²⁴⁶ *Utrumque enim sacramentum est, et quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur; illud, cum baptizatur; istud cum ordinatur; ideoque in catholica utrumque non licet iterari.*"²⁴⁷ This character can be compared to the stamp placed on imperial coins, to the *nota militaris* of soldiers or to the brand with which the sheep of a flock are marked;²⁴⁸ it is a consecration which cannot be done away with. So, the conclusion is the same: once validly ordained, the minister baptizes and ordains validly, even though he may be separated from the Church and in the state of sin.

But can public sinners and heretics really impart spiritual gifts, like the sacraments? St. Augustine, following the train of thought of St. Optatus and penetrating more and more deeply into the subject, comes to the last argument in favor of his thesis. These sacraments, which may be conferred by an unworthy minister, are not *his* sacraments, but those of God and of the Church; and his moral status does not prevent what he confers from being the gift of God and of the Church: "*Qui autem solo sacramento sacerdos est . . . quamvis ipse non sit verax, quod dat tamen verum est si non det suum sed Dei.*"²⁴⁹ The unworthy minister is not the chief minister of the sacrament; he is a mere instrument in the hands of Jesus; it is really

²⁴⁶ *Ius dandi (baptismum)*: St. Augustine often designates thus the power of orders.

²⁴⁷ *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, II, 28; cf. *Epist.* CLXXIII, 3; CLXXXV, 23; *De bono coniugali*, 32.

²⁴⁸ *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, II, 29; *Epist.* CLXXIII, 3; CLXXXV, 23.

²⁴⁹ *Contra litter. Petilian*, II, 69; *Contra Cresconium*, II, 12.

Jesus who baptizes by the hands of Peter, Paul and Judas;²⁵⁰ and the unworthiness of the instrument cannot paralyze His action. In a word, the validity of the sacramental rites does not depend on the moral state of the man who administers them; it depends neither on his faith nor on his state of grace.

Granting that their validity does not depend on the minister's moral state, does their efficacy depend on it? There are several distinctions to be noted in the answers which St. Augustine makes to this question. He affirms unhesitatingly that every sacrament received in the true Church by a properly disposed subject produces in him all its effect, however great may be the sinfulness and wickedness of the minister who administers it;²⁵¹ the high degree of sanctity, or of unworthiness, of the minister has no influence upon the extent of the grace that is actually received, always because he is only an instrument in the hands of Christ: "*Illud quod dictum est unum est, nec impar propter impares ministros, sed par et aequale propter 'Hic est qui baptizat.'*"²⁵² St. Augustine makes the same answer, in the case of a properly disposed moribund who receives baptism from a heretic, *i. e.*, outside the Church: his sins are forgiven by means of his baptism.²⁵³ But the Saint's answer is far less positive when, except in case of extreme necessity, a catechumen in good faith has himself baptized in a schismatic Church; he looks upon the neophyte as "wounded, grievously hurt by the sacrilege of schism."²⁵⁴ Here the Bishop of Hippo is impressed by the doctrine of St. Cyprian, which he has made his own, regarding the Church

²⁵⁰ *In Ioann.* tract. V, 7; VI, 7.

²⁵¹ *Contra litter. Petilian,* I, 3; *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, II, 24, 29; *Sermo LXXI*, 37; *De baptismo*, IV, 18.

²⁵² *In Ioann.* tract. VI, 8.

²⁵³ *De baptismo*, VI, 7; VII, 100.

²⁵⁴ *De baptismo*, I, 6.

as the only organ of sanctification and the only place where salvation can be obtained and sins forgiven. The baptism of schismatics is fundamentally that of the Church, and thus true baptism is not found in the Church only; but in her alone is it found in a way that is efficacious for salvation: "*nec in qua sola (Ecclesia) unus baptismus habetur, sed in qua sola unus baptismus salubriter habetur.*"²⁵⁵

Notwithstanding this uncertainty of St. Augustine, it remains true that in most cases he looks upon the validity and efficacy of the sacraments as being independent of the dispositions of the minister by whom they are conferred. Is this also the case with the dispositions of the subject who receives the sacrament?

Yes, undoubtedly, as regards their validity: "*Nihil interest ad baptismi sanctitatem quanto quisque peior id habeat, et quanto peior id tradat; potest tamen tradere separatus, sicut potest habere separatus, sed quam perniciose habere tam perniciose tradere.*"²⁵⁶ The same principle applies also to ordination.²⁵⁷ But of course the effect of grace is produced only when the subject is well disposed. However, if the subject at first impenitent and schismatic, changes his ways later and re-enters the fold of unity, then the sacrament,²⁵⁸ whose efficacy had been paralyzed, as it were, by his evil dispositions, will revive and bring forth its fruit of salvation: "*Et ideo si ab illa perversitate correctus et a separatione conversus venerit ad catholicam pacem, sub eodem baptismate quod acceperat eius peccata dimittuntur, propter vinculum charitatis, sub quo baptismate peccata eius tenebantur propter sacrilegium divisionis.*"²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ *Contra Cresconium*, I, 34. Cf. POURRAT, *op. cit.*, p. 146 and foll.

²⁵⁶ *De baptismo*, VI, 7; IV, 18.

²⁵⁷ *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, II, 28.

²⁵⁸ Note that, in this discussion, the Saint has in view baptism and orders.

²⁵⁹ *De baptismo*, VI, 7; I, 18; V, 9; *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, II, 28.

Does this mean that the good dispositions of the subject are, properly speaking, the cause of the production of grace in the reception of the sacrament? The very wording of St. Augustine excludes this explanation, but it is still more completely excluded by his teaching on the efficacy of baptism and of the Eucharist in children. Children receive baptism not only validly, but also *salubriter*. Though they have as yet not even actual faith, still they do not oppose it in a positive way, and this suffices: "*etiamsi fidem nondum habeat in cogitatione, non ei tamen obicem contrariae cogitationis opponit, unde sacramentum eius salubriter percipit.*"²⁶⁰ The explanation referred to is also excluded by the Saint's peculiar theory on the revival of sins. He is so bent on safeguarding the objective efficacy of baptism and making it independent even of the dispositions of the subject, that he does not reprove the Donatist hypothesis that, when the subject of the sacrament is in schism, or is improperly disposed, sins are first washed away by baptism, but revive immediately after, because of the impenitence of the baptized neophyte.²⁶¹

The grace conferred in the sacrament, therefore, does not come from the dispositions of the subject: though these are a *conditio sine qua non* of the reception of the grace, they are not its meritorious or productive cause. Since grace does not come from the minister, the consequence seems to be that it comes from the rite itself, from the sacrament. This is true, indeed, in the sense that, *positis ponendis*, the conferring of the rite always involves the conferring of grace, but not in the sense that the rite itself is the cause of grace. St. Augustine does not push his deductions as far as this point. We must bear in mind that for him the minister of the sacrament is merely the instrument of Jesus

²⁶⁰ *Epist. XCVIII*, 10. *Non obicem opponere* is the word which will be used later on to designate the sufficient dispositions of the subject.

²⁶¹ *De baptismo*, I, 19, 20; III, 18; V, 9.

Christ, who acts by his hands. The conferring of the sacrament is, then, an act of Jesus Christ, and the sacrament itself, the sensible rite is a sign under which Christ in a glorious state, though always living in the Church, conceals His sanctifying action: "*Hic est qui baptizat.*"²⁶² The sacrament is also an outer envelope which covers the inner working of the Holy Ghost: "*Aqua igitur exhibens forinsecus sacramentum gratiae, et Spiritus operans intrinsecus beneficium gratiae, solvens vinculum culpae;*"²⁶³ it may be compared to the words of a preacher, that serve to carry the divine action into souls.²⁶⁴ According to these conceptions, the rite is intended to symbolize and signify exteriorly the effect of grace produced directly by Jesus Christ, rather than to cause it, properly speaking.

There remains to be considered the intention of the minister and of the subject required for the validity of the sacrament. In several cases, mentioned by St. Augustine at the end of his treatise *De baptismo* (VII, 101, 102), it is difficult to give a solution to that question. What, it is asked, must be said of a baptism received in a fictitious and purely external way, the candidate intending to deceive the assistants, or the action being part of a drama (*utrum fallens, sicut in Ecclesia, vel in ea quae putatur Ecclesia; an iocans, sicut in mimo*), and how judge a baptism conferred by a minister who does not really intend to baptize? This may happen, first, when the subject simply does not intend to receive the sacrament; or secondly, on the stage, when during the course of a play, one of the actors is baptized by another as part of the performance, and being actually converted wishes to receive the sacrament, though the one giving it is in jest. St. Augustine answers that the Church

²⁶² *Epist.* LXXXIX, 5.

²⁶³ *Epist.* XCVIII, 2; *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, II, 23; *De baptismo*, V, 29.

²⁶⁴ *In Ioann.* tract. LVII, 3.

has given no solution to these difficulties. If asked for his own view, here it is: (1) "*Nequaquam dubitare habere eos baptismum qui ubicumque, et a quibuscumque, illud verbis evangelicis consecratum, sine sua simulatione, et cum aliqua fide acceperint*" (102). Hence, the minister's intention is not required for the validity of baptism either in the Church, or among heretics. (2) "*Sicut iam praeteritis maiorum statutis, non dubito etiam illos habere baptismum, qui quamvis fallaciter id accipiant, in Ecclesia tamen accipiunt, vel ubi putatur esse Ecclesia, ab eis in quorum societate id accipitur*" (102). So also, the subject's intention is not required for the validity of baptism, when this sacrament is received in a Christian community. (3) Should the thing take place outside any Church "*totum ludicre et mimice et ioculariter,*" we would have to beg God Himself to tell us whether such a baptism must be accepted or not (102).

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We have dwelt somewhat at length upon the general principles concerning the sacraments, found throughout the writings of St. Augustine, because these principles constitute the outlines of the sacramental synthesis effected by the Middle Ages. Now we may consider the various sacraments one by one.

The Bishop of Hippo wrote against the Donatists two polemical treatises on baptism, the *De baptismo*, in seven books, which was published in the year 400, and the *De unico baptismo contra Petilianum*, which appeared in 410.

Baptism is the sacrament which imparts the true faith, the sacrament of regeneration (*sacramentum nativitatis; vulva matris aqua baptismatis*),²⁶⁵ typified by the water that

²⁶⁵ *De baptismo*, IV, 22, 23; *Sermo CXIX*, 4; *In epist. Ioann.* tract. V, 6.

came from the open side of Jesus on the cross.²⁶⁶ It is administered with water previously blessed, and the formula *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*.²⁶⁷ It remits all sins "*omnia peccata . . . prorsus omnia*."²⁶⁸ It remits original sin in particular:²⁶⁹ hence the baptized child who dies before the age of reason escapes the condemnation pronounced against all mankind.²⁷⁰ As to concupiscence, baptism does not deliver us from it, but it does away with its guilt, its *reatus*, and sows in our souls the principle of its destruction on the day of the resurrection.²⁷¹ Moreover, this sacrament is for Christians a necessary condition of the forgiveness of the sins they may commit during their lifetime, and also a necessary condition of the expiatory and cleansing value of their prayers and almsdeeds.²⁷² All this, however, is, as it were, but the negative side of baptismal efficacy. From a positive point of view, baptism imparts to those who receive it the spirit of faith and charity, a new life;²⁷³ it marks them with a character.²⁷⁴ Children are incorporated into Jesus Christ.²⁷⁵ Nay, the body itself of the neophyte is sanctified and receives the token of future incorruptibility.²⁷⁶ Without baptism we cannot share in the other sacraments, especially in the Eucharist.²⁷⁷

Long before St. Augustine, it had been held that every Christian, even though he might be a heretic, could baptize,

²⁶⁶ *In Ioann.* tract. CXX, 2.

²⁶⁷ *Contra Cresconium*, IV, 15; *Sermo* CXLIX, 10.

²⁶⁸ *Sermo* V, 2; LVI, 12; *Contra duas epist. pelagianorum*, III, 5, etc.

²⁶⁹ *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, III, 5.

²⁷⁰ *Epist.* XCVIII, 10.

²⁷¹ *De nuptiis et concupisc.*, I, 29; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, III, 5; cf. *De gratia Christi et de pecc. origin.*, II, 44.

²⁷² *De nuptiis et concup.*, I, 38.

²⁷³ *Retract.* I, 13, 5.

²⁷⁴ Cf. above, p. 399.

²⁷⁵ *De peccator. meritis et remiss.*, I, 10; *Sermo* CLXXIV, 9.

²⁷⁶ *Contra Iulianum*, VI, 40.

²⁷⁷ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 26; *De baptismo*, II, 19.

and we have seen what he himself thought of the value of baptism given by dissenters. But can an infidel confer baptism validly? The Holy Doctor would like to have on this question a decision from a general council; he is personally inclined to answer it affirmatively, provided, of course, the visible rite is applied.²⁷⁸

He looked upon the ecclesiastical custom of baptizing newborn children as a tradition from the Apostles and from Christ, and he inferred from it, as we shall see later, that there exists in children original sin, since they are baptized in order that sin may be forgiven and that they may be redeemed.²⁷⁹ In vain did the Pelagians object that baptism has no medicinal effect on those children and only confers upon them the right to enter "the kingdom of heaven;" the Saint replied that, in baptism, children were penitents *habitu*, and that without baptism they could not be saved.²⁸⁰ Moreover, to all men baptism is necessary for salvation: through it, men die to sin, however old they may be, and even the most perfect who have not received it, if any such there be, are bound to do so.²⁸¹ However it can be replaced by martyrdom or even by faith and conversion of the heart (*fidem, conversionemque cordis*), if there is no time for receiving the sacrament.²⁸²

As to the intention and the dispositions required of the subject in baptism, the Bishop of Hippo in case of doubt and necessity takes the more lenient position. Thus, while he does not reprove a different way of acting, he thinks it is better to baptize a dying catechumen who can neither manifest his will nor profess his faith: "*Multo satius est nolenti*

²⁷⁸ *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, II, 30; *De baptismo*, VII, 101.

²⁷⁹ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 39.

²⁸⁰ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 23-25.

²⁸¹ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 23; *Enchiridion*, XLII, XLIII; *De baptismo*, IV, 29.

²⁸² *De baptismo*, IV, 29; *Contra litt. Petiliani*, II, 52.

dare quam volenti negare."²⁸³ Nay, he feels inclined to baptize under such circumstances a catechumen living in adultery, since it may be presumed that he had the intention of abandoning his bad conduct, at least in his last hour, and of receiving the sacrament, and he adds: "*Quae autem baptismatis eadem reconciliationis est causa, si forte paenitentem finiendae vitae periculum praeoccupaverit.*"²⁸⁴

Immediately after baptism, confirmation was generally given. St. Augustine mentions this several times and connects it with what is related in *Acts*, VIII, 15-17.²⁸⁵ He designates it sometimes as an imposition of hands, sometimes as an unction made with oil blessed by the sign of the cross.²⁸⁶ Its effect is to give the Holy Ghost.²⁸⁷ In Sermon CCXXVII, while showing how the neophytes themselves become a Eucharistic bread, the Saint explains that confirmation is the fire by which these new loaves are baked, for the Holy Ghost whom it imparts, is a burning fire: "*Sed nondum est panis sine igne. Quid ergo significat ignis? Hoc est chrisma. Oleum etenim ignis nostri Spiritus sancti est sacramentum. . . . Accedit ergo Spiritus sanctus, post aquam ignis: et efficiuntur panis, quod est corpus Christi.*" St. Augustine affirms that this sacrament is given to children,²⁸⁸ and that like baptism, it is valid, even when received by a schismatic or by one lacking proper dispositions, although it is not then fruitful; so he seems to consider that it produces character.²⁸⁹

²⁸³ *De coniug. adulter.*, I, 33.

²⁸⁴ *De coniug. adult.*, I, 35.

²⁸⁵ *De trinit.*, XV, 46.

²⁸⁶ *De trinit.*, XV, 46; *In epist. Ioann.* tract. VI, 10; III, 5, 12; *De baptismo*, V, 27; *Enarr. in psalm. XXVI*, enarr. II, 2; *In Ioann.* tract. CXVIII, 5.

²⁸⁷ *In epist. Ioann.* tract. III, 5, 12; VI, 10; *De trinit.*, XV, 46.

²⁸⁸ *In epist. Ioann.* tract. VI, 10.

²⁸⁹ *Contra litt. Petiliani*, II, 239. The reader will notice that St.

§ 9. The Eucharist.²⁹⁰

It is no easy task to state accurately St. Augustine's Eucharistic doctrine. This difficulty is due first to the nature itself of the mystery — a reality which, though corporal, yet cannot be seen since it exists in a spiritual manner; secondly, to the genius of the Bishop of Hippo, who is naturally fond of allegorical explanations and of passing, at times with disconcerting rapidity, from the sign to the thing signified, from the concrete fact to the teachings it suggests, from the cause to its effects and *vice versa*; finally, to the circumstances in which he spoke and wrote, and particularly to the discipline of the secret to which he so often alludes.²⁹¹ All this has contributed to raise, with regard to his inner thoughts, obscurities and doubts which we must try to clear up.

The first question requiring study is naturally that of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. What did St. Augustine hold on the subject?

Many, indeed, are the texts which apparently make him a mere symbolist, or at least a forerunner of Calvin, granting a presence "in power" only, to the Savior under the bread and wine. Thus, in explaining why baptism is at

Augustine clearly distinguishes confirmation, which consisted of a laying on of the hands and of an anointing, from the ceremony by which heretics were reconciled and which included only the laying on of the hands. To his mind, the latter was simply *oratio super hominem* and could be repeated (*De baptismo*, III, 21; V, 33).

²⁹⁰ Works: P. SCHANZ, *Die Lehre des hl. Augustin über die Eucharistie*, in *Tübing. theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1896. E. TARCHIER, *Le sacrement de l'Eucharistie d'après saint Augustin*, Lyon, 1904. M. BLEIN, *Le sacrifice de l'Eucharistie d'après saint Augustin*, Lyon, 1906. O. BLANK, *Die Lehre des hl. Augustin vom Sacramente der Eucharistie*, Paderborn, 1907. P. BATIFFOL, *Études d'histoire et de théol. positive*, 2d series, *L'Eucharistie*, 3d edit., Paris, 1906. K. ADAM, *Die Eucharistie-lehre des hl. Augustin*, Paderborn, 1908.

²⁹¹ For instance *In Ioann. tract.* XI, 3, 4; *Sermo* IV, 31; V, 7; CCCVII, 3, etc.

times called *fides*, he remarks that the signs or sacraments often receive, by antonomasy, the name of the realities which they signify, and he adds: "*Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est.*"²⁹² Again, in connection with blood, which is the figure and sign of the soul: "*Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere: 'Hoc est corpus meum,' cum signum daret corporis sui;*"²⁹³ and also: "*Convivium in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit et tradidit.*"²⁹⁴

By a similar conception, we are told, that eating the body of Jesus Christ and drinking His blood are for St. Augustine symbolical expressions which mean the same as to be united to Jesus Christ by faith and by remembrance, to remain and abide in Him or in the unity of the Church; and again that, according to the Augustinian doctrine, of course we eat and drink really and materially the consecrated elements, but we do not receive Jesus Christ whom these elements symbolize, or whose power they contain, except by faith, by the heart, in a merely spiritual way. And these are the texts:

"Si praeceptiva locutio est aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam iubens, non est figurata. Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur iubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est. *Nisi manducaveritis, inquit, carnem filii hominis, et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis.* Facinus vel flagitium videtur iubere: figura est ergo, praeciens passioni dominicae communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria quod pro nobis caro eius crucifixa et vulnerata sit."²⁹⁵—Qui ergo est in eius corporis unitate, id est in christianorum compage membrorum . . .

²⁹² *Epist.* XCVIII, 9.

²⁹⁴ *Enarr. in psalm.* III, 1.

²⁹³ *Contra Adimantum*, XII, 3.

²⁹⁵ *De doctrina christiana*, III, 24.

ipse vere dicendus est manducare corpus Christi, et bibere sanguinem Christi." ²⁹⁶

The XXVIth and XXVIIth *tractatus in Ioannem*, which contain many ideas which it is difficult to make out, are full of expressions like the following: "*Hunc itaque cibum et potum societatem vult intellegi corporis et membrorum suorum.*" ²⁹⁷ "*Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam, et illum bibere potum in Christo manere, et illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus procul dubio nec manducat carnem eius, nec bibit eius sanguinem, sed magis tantae rei sacramentum ad iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.*" ²⁹⁸

But do these texts express what they are said to express, and do they prove that St. Augustine is a symbolist and does not believe in the real presence? By no means. In the first passages, he takes the word *sacramentum* in the strict sense which he indeed often gives to this word, *i. e.*, in the sense of a material element contrasted with the *res* or *virtus sacramenti*: "*Aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti.*" ²⁹⁹ This word designates the bread and wine. But this bread and wine are precisely the sign, the figure of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. In this case the Saint's way of speaking agrees with that of St. Jerome and with that of the canon given by the *De sacramentis*, as well as with the language of St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Gregory of Nazianzus. Furthermore, in the *De doctrina christiana*, III, 24, St. Augustine does not intend to write a complete commentary on the *Nisi manducaveritis*: he will do this in another work; he dismisses simply the Capharnaic concept

²⁹⁶ *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 25, 2, 3, 4; *Sermo* CCLXXII.

²⁹⁷ *In Ioann.* tract. XXVI, 15.

²⁹⁸ *In Ioann.* tract. XXVI, 18. In the printed text, there are bracketed interpolations which I have not reproduced. See also *Tract.* XXVI, 13; XXVII, 1, 3, 6, 11.

²⁹⁹ *In Ioann.* tract. XXVI, 11.

of a bloody meal, and points out briefly the commemorative character of the Eucharist. Finally, it is evident that in the texts of the *De civitate Dei* and of the *Tractatus in Ioannem* the Bishop of Hippo has in mind a fruitful reception (*vere dicendus est*) of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. He does not truly share in it who fails to obtain its fruit, the grace of union with Jesus Christ and with his fellow-Christians, or does not remain within the unity of the Church. We must remember that for the Africans, the Eucharist is *the* symbol of this unity, that there is nothing that renders one so unworthy of the Eucharist as schism.

Now, side by side with these texts,—to which we shall add a few others, in their proper place,—it is easy to find many other texts containing more or less implicitly a doctrine which is fundamentally realistic; however this doctrine shows at the same time the Saint's purpose of emphasizing distinctly the spiritual fruit to be derived by the communicant from the divine reality which he receives.

St. Augustine remarks, first, that the Eucharistic bread and wine are not naturally a mystical food, nor a sacrament of religion: they become so through a consecration, a blessing, a sanctification: "*Noster autem panis et calix, non quilibet . . . sed certa consecratione mysticus fit nobis, non nascitur.*"³⁰⁰—"Non omnis panis sed accipiens benedictionem Christi fit panis Christi."³⁰¹ The operation of the Holy Ghost is needed to transform human elements into so great a sacrament: "*Cum per manus hominum ad illam visibilem speciem perducatur, non sanctificatur ut sit tantum sacramentum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei.*"³⁰²

What is the effect of this consecration and sanctification? It is this: "*Panis ille quem vidistis in altari sanctificatus*

³⁰⁰ *Contra Faustum*, XX, 13.

³⁰² *De trinit.*, III, 10.

³⁰¹ *Sermo* CCXXXIV, 2.

per verbum Dei, corpus est Christi. Calix ille, imo quod habet calix, sanctificatum per verbum Dei, sanguis est Christi."³⁰³ Our bodily eyes see in the consecrated elements the bread and the chalice of wine, faith discerns in them Christ's body and blood: "*Quod ergo videtis panis est et calix; quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renuntiant: quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis Christi.*"³⁰⁴ In these two places, it is true, the Saint goes on to explain to the neophytes that this body of Jesus Christ is the Church whose members they are, and from which they must not secede; but this moral lesson drawn from the mystery does not lessen the strength of the previous declarations. Nay, he confirms them by observing that the body which Jesus Christ gives us to eat is the same that He received from Mary and with which He was clothed here below; that before receiving it, we adore it;³⁰⁵ that we receive "*fidei corde atque ore*" Christ's body as a food, and His blood as a drink "*quamvis horribilius videatur humanam carnem manducare quam perimere et humanum sanguinem potare quam fundere*";³⁰⁶ that, if children are told to whom belongs that body and blood which they have seen on the altar, "*nihil aliud credent, nisi omnino in illa specie Dominum oculis apparuisse*

³⁰³ *Sermo* CCXXVII.

³⁰⁴ *Sermo* CCLXXII.

³⁰⁵ "Et quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, et ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit, nemo autem illam carnem manducat nisi prius adoraverit, inventum est quemadmodum adoretur tale scabellum pedum Domini" (*Enarr. in psalm. XCVIII, 9; cf. In Ioann. tract. XXVII, 5; St. AMBROSE, De Spiritu Sancto, III, 79*). As to the words which, in the same passage, St. Augustine places on the lips of Our Lord: "Spiritualiter intellegite quod locutus sum: non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent, etc.," they are not meant to deny the reality of the divine body and blood in the Eucharist, but to discard the grossly materialistic sense attached by the Capharnaïtes to the promises of Jesus: "Acceperunt illud stulte, carnaliter illud cogitaverunt, etc."

³⁰⁶ *Contra adversar. legis et prophet.*, II, 34; *Epist. LIV, 8*.

mortalium, et de latere tali percusso liquorem illum omnino fluxisse";³⁰⁷ finally, that Christians must know what they eat and drink in the liturgical action, "or rather *whom* they eat, *whom* they drink" (*quem manduces, quem bibas*) and consequently they must abstain from fornication.³⁰⁸ Hence the interpretation of the text: *Et ferebatur in manibus suis*, given by the Saint. No one can see how these words apply to David; but they apply to Christ: "Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis, quando commendans ipsum corpus suum, ait: *Hoc est corpus meum*. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis."³⁰⁹

Finally, two points of St. Augustine's Eucharistic doctrine prove unquestionably his belief in the real presence. First, he teaches that the wicked and the unworthy receive effectively the body and blood of Jesus Christ, even though they receive it to their condemnation: "Corpus enim Domini et sanguis Domini nihilominus erat etiam illis quibus dicebat apostolus: *Qui manducat indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit*."³¹⁰ Secondly, he teaches that the Eucharist is necessary to little children and profitable to them: "Infantes sunt, sed mensae eius participes fiunt, ut habeant in se vitam."³¹¹

As regards the operation by which the consecrated elements become the body and blood of Jesus, St. Augustine has left nothing definite:³¹² "Accipiens benedictionem fit

³⁰⁷ *De trinit.*, III, 21.

³⁰⁸ *Sermo IX*, 14.

³⁰⁹ *Enarr. in psalm. XXXIII*, *sermo I*, 10; the *sermo II*, 2, on the same psalm, reproduces this passage with a change: "et ipse se portabat quodam modo cum diceret *Hoc est corpus meum*." This *quodam modo* may be explained in many ways that have nothing to do with the real presence.

³¹⁰ *De baptismo*, V, 9; *Sermo LXXI*, 17.

³¹¹ *Sermo CLXXIV*, 7; *Contra duas epist. pelagian.*, II, 7; *De peccator. merit. et remiss.*, I, 34; *Epist. CLXXXVI*, 28; *CCXVII*, 16.

³¹² Nor does he point out with clearness and precision the words which he thinks bring about the Eucharistic change. See TARCHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 100 and foll.

panis Christi — *fit nobis non nascitur*”; he simply says that the Holy Spirit acts invisibly, and he advances no theory as to what becomes of the substance of bread and wine through the consecration. There was another question that claimed more of his attention and seems to have always preoccupied him: — the problem of how the body of Christ, a real body, is present in the Eucharist in conditions not those of a material and extended body. He believes he has found its solution in the text of St. John: “*Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro non prodest quidquam.*” Eaten in its natural state, the flesh of Jesus would have been of no avail to us, for it would have been deprived of life, and, moreover, this eating would have been impossible. It is profitable to us, because it is the living flesh of Christ’s glorious life, filled and spiritualized by the Spirit which the Word is and which has transfigured it. Since it is living, it imparts life through the Spirit by which it is vivified; being spiritualized, it reaches the spirit, the soul, provided one receives it not only exteriorly, but also in spirit.

“Non prodest quidquam, sed quomodo illi intellexerunt: carnem quippe sic intellexerunt, quomodo in cadavere dilanatur, aut in macello venditur, non quomodo spiritu vegetatur. . . . Caro non prodest quidquam, sed sola caro; accedat spiritus ad carnem, et prodest plurimum.”³¹³— Manducant ergo qui manducant et bibant qui bibunt; esuriant et sitiant; vitam manducant, vitam bibant. Illud manducare, refici est; sed sic reficeris, ut non deficiat unde reficeris. Illud bibere quid est nisi vivere? Manduca vitam, bibe vitam: habebis vitam, et integra est vita. Tunc autem hoc erit, id est, vita unicuique erit corpus et sanguis Christi, si quod in sacramento visibiliter sumitur in ipsa veritate spiritaliter manducetur, spiritaliter bibatur. Audivimus enim ipsum Dominum dicentem: *Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro autem non prodest quidquam.*”³¹⁴

³¹³ *In Ioann.* tract. XXVII, 5.

³¹⁴ *Sermo* CXXXI, 1.

This last passage shows that, for St. Augustine, the spiritual life, the divine life is the chief fruit of the Eucharist,—a life which is nothing but union with Christ, and manifests itself in fraternal union, as has been observed elsewhere.

Furthermore, in order to share in this divine life and to eat with proper profit this heavenly bread, we must be guiltless, or at least we must be free from grievous sin: “*Videte ergo, fratres, panem caelestem spiritualiter manducate, innocentiam ad altare apportate. Peccata etsi sunt quotidiana vel non sint mortifera.*”³¹⁵

The Holy Doctor declined to give a definite answer as to whether it behooved Christians to communicate daily.³¹⁶ On the other hand, all know that he deemed the reception of the Eucharist necessary that all—even children, might be saved, according to the text: *Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis . . . non habebitis vitam in vobis*: “Si ergo, ut tot et tanta divina testimonia concinunt, nec salus nec vita aeterna sine baptismo et corpore Domini cuiquam speranda est, frustra sine his promittitur parvulis.”³¹⁷ He was led to this exaggeration both by his earnestness in his disputes with the Pelagians, and by his overstraining the parallelism between the Gospel formula which prescribes the reception of baptism, and that which prescribes the reception of the Eucharist.

Besides treating the Eucharist as a sacrament, the Saint has also treated, though superficially, the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Taken in a very broad meaning, a sacrifice is any work that brings us nearer to God and unites us to Him.

³¹⁵ *In Ioann. tract. XXVI, II.*

³¹⁶ *Epist. LIV, 4.*

³¹⁷ *De peccator. merit. et remiss., I, 34, 26–28; Contra duas epist. pelag., II, 7; Epist. CLXXXVI, 28; CCXVII, 16; De praedestin. sanct., 25.*

Thus a Christian who consecrates himself to God and dies to the world, may be called a sacrifice. With still greater reason, the Church offered to God by her High-Priest, Jesus, may be called, in this sense, a sacrifice. She is offered, inasmuch as she is to some extent what she herself offers: "*Demonstratur quod in ea re quam offert, ipsa offeratur.*" What, then, does she offer? In the words of St. Augustine, she offers the sacrament of the altar known to the faithful.³¹⁸ This is the true sacrifice (*sacrificium verum*) figured by those sacrifices of the Old Law, that have come to an end.³¹⁹

This sacrifice, however, is not absolute; it refers to the sacrifice of the cross, commemorating it, for in reality there is but one sacrifice: "*Huius sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur; in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur; post ascensum Christi per sacramentum memoriae celebratur.*"³²⁰ Jesus Christ, who on Calvary was both priest and victim, is also at the altar priest and victim: "*Per hoc et sacerdos est, ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio. Cuius rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit Ecclesiae sacrificium.*"³²¹

Since the Eucharistic sacrifice is an act of latria, it is offered neither to the saints, nor to the angels, but to God alone: "*Quod offertur, offertur Deo qui martyres coronavit.*"³²² While it cannot be offered for the unbaptized,³²³ it can be offered for the faithful departed.³²⁴

§ 10. Penance, Holy Orders, Matrimony.³²⁵

On penance St. Augustine has left a whole sermon, the

³¹⁸ *De civit. Dei*, X, 6.

³¹⁹ *Enarr. in psalm. XXXIX*, 12; *De civit. Dei*, X, 20.

³²⁰ *Contra Faustum*, XX, 21; VI, 5.

³²¹ *De civit. Dei*, X, 20; XVII, 20, 2; *Enarr. in psalm. CXLIX*, 6.

³²² *Contra Faustum*, XX, 21.

³²³ *De anima*, I, 10.

³²⁴ *Confession.*, IX, 27, 32, 36, 37; *Sermo CLXXII*, 2.

³²⁵ Works: P. SCHANZ, *Die Lehre des hl. Augustinus über das hl.*

CCCLIInd. He also treated of it elsewhere. We can reconstruct almost completely his teaching on the subject.³²⁶

The Bishop of Hippo distinguishes three kinds of penance: that performed before baptism; that performed every day for light and daily offences (*venialia, levia*); finally that due for mortal and grievous offences, for those sins which are contrary to the Decalogue, of which St. Paul says that those who commit them shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.³²⁷ Of this last kind of penance we are about to speak.

In what acts does it consist?

The first of these acts is evidently repentance: this sorrow for sins committed is the condition of forgiveness.³²⁸

Secondly, the penitent must confess his sins to those who govern the Church, in order that his penance may be determined. In his commentaries on Psalms LXVI, 6, and XCIV, 4, and in the *De diversis quaestionibus* LXXXIII, qu. XXVI, the Saint speaks of the confession of sins in general, but does not say to whom this confession must be made. On the other hand, he implies, in his LXXXIInd sermon, n. 11, that the bishop knows secret crimes that are not known to the public. Finally, he adds in the *Enchiridion*, LXV, that "*recte constituuntur ab iis qui Ecclesiae praesunt tempora paenitentiae.*" All this evidently implies confession, secret confession made to the bishop.

The penance prescribed varies according to the nature and gravity of the faults committed. St. Augustine notes two degrees of penance: one, milder, which consists of "*quibusdam correptionum medicamentis,*" when the sins are

Sakrament des Busse, in *Tübing. theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1895. A. KIRSCH, *Zur Geschichte der Katholischen Beichte*, Würzburg, 1902.

³²⁶ The reader will notice that the authenticity of the CCCLIst sermon, which also treats of penance, is doubtful.

³²⁷ *Sermo* CCCLII, 2, foll.; *De symbolo ad catechum.*, 15; *Enchiridion*, LXIX; *De fide et operibus*, 48.

³²⁸ *Enarr. in psalm.* CXLVI, 6; LXVII, 31.

secret and only the sinner's salvation is aimed at; the other, public, *luctuosa, lamentabilis, gravior*, which openly excludes the sinner from the Eucharist, when the faults are known and scandalous (*ita gravia*).³²⁹ Nay, the Church at times solemnly excommunicates the culprit; however, the Saint acknowledges a relaxation of discipline in this regard. Scandalous sinners are so numerous and the proper appreciation of sin has so decreased, that the Church closes her eyes, for fear of a greater evil.³³⁰

Confession and the performance of penance are already for the penitent a spiritual resurrection: it is like the coming forth of Lazarus from the grave: "*Qui confitetur foras prodit. Foras prodire non posset, nisi viveret: vivere non posset nisi resuscitatus esset.*"³³¹—"*Elevatus est Lazarus, processit de tumulto et ligatus erat sicut sunt homines in confessione peccati agentes paenitentiam. Jam processerunt a morte: nam non confiterentur nisi procederent. Ipsum confiteri ab occulto et a tenebroso procedere est.*"³³² However he is still bound; in order that he may be able to walk, the Church looses his bonds: "*Sed parum adhuc ligatus est (peccator) . . . Praeter hanc Ecclesiam nihil solvitur*";³³³ for in the person of St. Peter she has received from Jesus Christ the power of the keys, enabling her to retain or forgive sins.³³⁴ Hence, St. Augustine believes that a sinner is restored to the spiritual life even before he is absolved by the bishop, for to give back life belongs "*ad propriam maiestatem Dei suscitantis*";³³⁵ and

³²⁹ *De fide et operibus*, 48; *Sermo LXXXII*, 11.

³³⁰ *Enchiridion*, LXXX; *Brevic. collat.*, III, 16; *Contra litter. Petilianii*, III, 44.

³³¹ *Sermo LXVII*, 2, 3.

³³² *Sermo CCCLII*, 8.

³³³ *Sermo CCXCV*, 2; *CCCLII*, 8; *Epist. LXXXVIII*, 8; *CCXXVIII*, 8.

³³⁴ *In Ioann. tract. CXXIV*, 5.

³³⁵ *Sermo XCVIII*, 6.

yet he deems the intervention of the Church also necessary, —an intervention which truly looses the sinner's bonds. This theory is, then, far from being well defined.

Solemn penance cannot be repeated. The Holy Doctor teaches, however, that backsliders can obtain forgiveness directly from God.³³⁶ Moreover, as every reservation had ceased in his time, murder and adultery, heresy and apostasy were forgiven: "*In quibuscumque peccatis non perdit viscera pia mater Ecclesia.*"³³⁷ Only one sin was past remission, *vis.*, blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, which is, according to the Saint, obduracy and the refusal to enter the true Church.³³⁸

It is almost exclusively in his controversy with the Donatists that St. Augustine treats the sacrament of Order, and most of what he says on the subject has been already summed up in its proper place. Order is a sacrament like baptism, since it is valid, even when conferred by an unworthy minister or by a heretic, and impresses a character: it cannot, therefore, be repeated (*ordinationis ecclesiae signaculum*).³³⁹ The other texts concerning the manner of conferring ordination and the various degrees of the hierarchy agree with what we know of the discipline at the beginning of the 5th century, and need not be here mentioned. However, St. Augustine observes that, while in a certain sense and according to the *Apocalypse*, XX, 6, all Christians are priests: "*omnes sacerdotes, quoniam membra sunt unius sacerdotis (Christi),*" the name priests applies especially to priests properly so called and to bishops. They alone can offer up the sacrifice.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ *Epist.* CLIII, 7.

³³⁷ *Sermo* CCCLII, 9, 8; LXXI, 7, 37.

³³⁸ *Sermo* LXXI, 5 and foll., 21-23.

³³⁹ *De bono coniugali*, 21; *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, II, 28; *De baptismo*, I, 2.

³⁴⁰ *De civit. Dei*, XX, 10; *Sermo* CXXXVII, 8.

Considering marriage as the natural union of man and woman, St. Augustine had necessarily to deal with two classes of opponents: the Manicheans who, while they allowed their "hearers" to marry, looked upon the bringing forth of children as evil,³⁴¹ and the Pelagians, who, because of the end of marriage, affirmed that the motions of concupiscence accompanying the conjugal act are good and praiseworthy.³⁴²

First the Bishop of Hippo lays down as a principle the superiority of continency over marriage and conjugal chastity.³⁴³ He explains that the performance of the conjugal act is not essential to marriage, and that the latter may exist, even though there is on both sides a formal mutual promise of chastity, as was the case with the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph.³⁴⁴ On the other hand, he affirms that marriage is good: "*aliquid boni esse coniugium masculi et feminae.*"³⁴⁵

Why is marriage thus naturally good? Because of its purpose and results.

Its first purpose is the bringing forth of children, and no other purpose than this justifies completely the union of the sexes. Its second purpose is the help which husband and wife give to each other, even when the first purpose can no longer be obtained: "*propter ipsam etiam naturalem in diverso sexu societatem.*" In the third place, there results from marriage a certain calm and seriousness which the thought of parenthood brings in the relations between husband and wife: "*Intercedit enim quaedam gravitas fervidae voluptatis, cum in eo quod sibi vir et mulier adhaerescunt, pater et mater esse meditantur.*" Finally, the fourth

³⁴¹ *De moribus Ecclesiae catholicae*, II, 65.

³⁴² *De nuptiis et concupisc.*, I, 8.

³⁴³ *De bono coniug.*, 27-31; *De sancta virgin.*, I.

³⁴⁴ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 12.

³⁴⁵ *De bono coniug.*, 3.

advantage is the mutual fidelity of the two parties to each other — a fidelity which keeps incontinency within proper limits.³⁴⁶

On these various topics St. Augustine puts to himself a certain number of questions, several of which refer more to the practical ethics of marriage than to its speculative and dogmatic aspect. Some of these questions, however, must be mentioned. Thus, the intention of having children seems to the Saint so necessary to justify the conjugal act, that he asks himself whether a marriage entered into without this desire, "*propter incontinentiam, solius concubitus causa*" can be called a marriage. He answers: perhaps (*fortasse non absurde*), provided that the husband and wife do nothing in order to prevent the birth of offspring, and furthermore intend to remain united till death.³⁴⁷ At any rate, when sought merely for pleasure, the conjugal act is a venial sin, even for a wedded couple; it is with strong qualifications that St. Augustine grants that marriage has been instituted *ad sedandam concupiscentiam*; he reproves with severity those who, while observing strictly its laws, make it a means of lust.³⁴⁸

Inordinate concupiscence which accompanies the conjugal act is, then, an evil in itself, and can be justified only by the purpose of this act, that is, the bringing forth of children. It is a result of original sin; for while it is true that in the state of innocence, both sexes would have been united so as to increase greatly the number of the blessed — since death was unknown —, all these relations between the two sexes would have been under the control of reason, since the will had over the senses an effective authority.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ *De bono coniug.*, 3, 4, 6.

³⁴⁷ *De bono coniug.*, 5.

³⁴⁸ *De bono coniug.*, 5, 6; *De nupt. et concupisc.*, I, 17.

³⁴⁹ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 9, 24; *De Genesi ad litteram*, IX, 6, 8, 14, 16, 18.

After settling thus the points on the subject of marriage which came up in his dispute with the Manicheans and the Pelagians, St. Augustine speaks of the two fitting properties of conjugal union,—unity and indissolubility.

Unity is a consequence of the mutual fidelity, the *fides castitatis* which the laws of all countries demand of husband and wife.³⁵⁰ If understood in all its comprehensiveness, this fidelity excludes not only polyandry, which is *contra bonum prolis*,³⁵¹ but also polygamy. The latter was allowed to the patriarchs, in order that the Israelites might increase in number; but monogamy is more in harmony with the primitive institution of marriage and is more conducive to its success.³⁵² Hence monogamy is the law that now prevails, indeed, so much so that the Church does not admit to orders those who have been married twice. Even though they have committed no fault in remarrying, still they have transgressed to some extent the law of the sacrament.³⁵³

St. Augustine looks upon indissolubility as a special property, nay, as the sacramental bond itself of Christian marriage: *bonum sacramenti*;³⁵⁴ and it is in fact because Christian marriage is a symbol, a sensible sign of Christ's union with the Church, that husband and wife must remain united for ever: “*Quoddam sacramentum nuptiarum commendatur fidelibus coniugatis, unde dicit apostolus: viri diligite uxores vestras, sicut et Christus dilexit Ecclesiam: huius procul dubio sacramenti res est ut mas et femina connubio copulati quamdiu vivunt inseparabiliter perseverent, nec liceat, excepta causa fornicationis, a coniuge coniugem discedere.*”³⁵⁵ Marriage cannot be dissolved on account of

³⁵⁰ *De bono coniug.*, 32.

³⁵¹ *De bono coniug.*, 20; *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 10.

³⁵² *De nupt. et concupisc.*, I, 10; *De bono coniug.*, 20.

³⁵³ *De bono coniug.*, 21.

³⁵⁴ *De bono coniug.*, 32; *De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, II, 39.

³⁵⁵ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 11; cf. *De bono coniug.*, 6, 7, 32; *De fide et operibus*, 10.

sterility.³⁵⁶ But can it be dissolved on account of the adultery of one party; can a new marriage be then contracted? As the readers know, the question received various answers even in the West. St. Augustine has treated it *ex professo* in the *De coniugiis adulterinis ad Pollentium*. In this work he holds that, outside the case of adultery, neither party is allowed to abandon his partner, and that, even in the case of adultery, the innocent partner — whether the husband or the wife — must not remarry (I, 2-5, 7-13; II, 3, 4, 11). The text of *Matthew*, XIV, 9, is not opposed to this solution (I, 9-12).³⁵⁷ Thus, the Saint consistently upholds the indissolubility of marriage. Marriage, he thinks, imprints, like baptism, some sort of a character: the difference between them is that God, the spouse to whom the soul becomes bound through baptism, is immortal, whereas the partner to whom one is joined by marriage can die and thus free the other partner: "*Ita manet inter viventes quiddam coniugale quod nec separatio, nec cum altero copulatio possit auferre.*"³⁵⁸ St. Augustine was very much impressed with the strictness of this law: he saw in it a proof of the lofty significance of marriage and at the same time a punishment inflicted on human passions.³⁵⁹

The Bishop of Hippo sees only a counsel in the command given by St. Paul to the Christian party not to dismiss the infidel partner, provided the latter be willing to continue peaceful relations with the former.³⁶⁰ Moreover, he affirms the validity and even the liceity of unions between

³⁵⁶ *De bono coniug.*, 7, 32.

³⁵⁷ However, in the *De fide et operibus*, 35, St. Augustine says that the thing is so obscure that, in his mind, those who believe that a new marriage is then allowed, commit only a venial sin: "ut, quantum existimo, venialiter ibi quisque fallatur."

³⁵⁸ *De nupt. et concupisc.*, I, 11; *De coniug. adulter.*, II, 4; *De bono coniug.*, 32.

³⁵⁹ *De bono coniug.*, 7.

³⁶⁰ *De coniug. adulter.*, I, 14-24.

heathens and Christians, although he deplores the unhappy results and frequency of these unions.³⁶¹ Marriages entered into after the vow of chastity he looks also upon as valid, notwithstanding the sin committed in contracting them.³⁶²

There still remains a question to examine: did St. Augustine deem marriage a true sacrament? The word *sacrament* comes often from his pen in connection with marriage; but in most of these cases, it means the indissolubility of the conjugal union,—an indissolubility to which the parties have implicitly bound themselves. There are three things which form the good of marriage: *proles, fides, sacramentum*.³⁶³ This character of indissolubility is holy (*sanctitas sacramenti*); it is to be found in Christian marriage only and through this character, through this “*res sacramenti*,” Christian marriage prefigures the union of Jesus Christ with His Church, and thus can be likened to baptism and holy orders.³⁶⁴ Hence there is no doubt that marriage is for St. Augustine a sacrament in the broad sense, the *sacramentum nuptiarum*.³⁶⁵ Is it also a sacrament in the strict sense? To this question we can give no definite reply, for on the one hand the Saint nowhere mentions at all distinctly the spiritual gift, the grace involved in the Christian marriage-contract; and on the other, what he generally has in view, when speaking of marriage, is not the contract itself, the marriage *in fieri*, but the married state which it entails for the couple.

§ II. Eschatology. Struggle against Origenism.³⁶⁶

In approaching the subject of the last things, St. Augus-

³⁶¹ *De fide et operibus*, 35.

³⁶² *De bono viduitatis*, 12.

³⁶³ *De bono coniug.*, 32.

³⁶⁴ *De bono coniug.*, 32, 7; *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 11; *De coniug. adulter.*, II, 4.

³⁶⁵ *De bono coniug.*, 21.

³⁶⁶ Works: J. TURMEL, *L'eschatologie à la fin du IV^e siècle* in *Revue*

tine realized fully the difficulties and problems to which certain texts of Holy Writ give rise. These difficulties had puzzled such men as Jerome and Ambrose. In his turn the Bishop of Hippo wrestled with them, firmly determined to overcome them. While, he did not, indeed, solve all these difficulties, he rendered them less formidable by reducing their number and proving most conclusively the fundamental eschatological principles of the whole Christian life.

The Bishop of Hippo holds that, immediately after death, souls receive a part of the reward, or punishment, which they have deserved, which, however, will not be complete till the day of the resurrection, when the soul and the body are reunited.³⁶⁷ But do the souls of the just in this state behold God? Do they enjoy His presence? Augustine answers that this is quite probably the case with the martyrs; as to others, he is uncertain and there are found in his works texts in favor of both positions.³⁶⁸ For he is in doubt whether the soul separated from the body can be perfectly happy, capable of contemplating God.

He chides those who try to discover when the world is coming to an end, since Our Lord has said nothing about it;³⁶⁹ he declares that he cannot explain the words of St. Paul (*II Thessalon.*, II, 1-11) referring to Antichrist, es-

d'hist. et de littér. religieuses, vol. V, 1900. A. FRANTZ, *Die Gebet für die Todten . . . nach den Schriften des hl. Augustinus*, Nordhausen, 1857.

³⁶⁷ *De Genesi ad litter.*, XII, 68; *Sermo* CCLXXX, 5; CCCXVIII, 5, 6.

³⁶⁸ Pro: *Enarr. in psalm.* CXIX, 6; *Confession.*, IX, 3, 6; *De civit. Dei*, XX, 9, 2. Con: *Enchiridion*, CIX, CX; *De civit. Dei*, XII, 9, 2; XX, 15; *In Ioann.* tract. XXI, 13. The CIXth chapter of the *Enchiridion* is explicit: "Tempus autem quod inter hominis mortem et ultimam resurrectionem interpositum est animas abditis receptaculis continet, sicut unaquaeque digna est vel requie vel aerumna, pro eo quod sortita est in carne cum viveret." This dwelling-place of the just is called the bosom of Abraham, paradise (*Sermo* CIX, 4; *Enarr. in psalm.* XXXVI, sermo I, 10).

³⁶⁹ *De civit. Dei*, XVIII, 53, 1.

pecially verses 6 and 7, and he dismisses with contempt the popular belief which identified Antichrist with Nero. He rather inclines to identify him with the false prophet of the *Apocalypse*, XIX, 20.³⁷⁰

Though St. Augustine had for a time held millenarian views,³⁷¹ he later discarded them completely and, in order to divest the error of its strongest support, endeavored to give, in the XXth book of the *City of God*, an allegorical explanation of the vision of Patmos. The first resurrection, spoken of by St. John (*Apoc.*, XX, 5) represents redemption and the call to the Christian life; the reign of Jesus Christ and of His saints (*Apoc.*, X, 6) represents the Church and her apostolic work here below; finally, the thousand years signify either the thousand years which will immediately precede the judgment, or the whole duration of the existence of the Church here below.³⁷²

As soon as the world will have come to an end, the resurrection of the body will take place. In St. Augustine's time, this truth was still assailed by the pagans. The Saint assembled all their objections and undertook to answer them in the *De civitate Dei*, XXII, 12-20.³⁷³ All will arise, the just and the wicked, the elect and the damned.³⁷⁴ In what conditions? First, the flesh will remain flesh and not become spirit. The expression *spiritual body* used by the Apostle, means simply that the body will then be freed from gross inclinations and needs, and be controlled entirely by the spirit: "*Erit ergo spiritui subdita caro spiritualis, sed tamen caro, non spiritus: sicut carni subditus fuit spiritus ipse carnalis, sed tamen spiritus, non caro.*"³⁷⁵ Moreover,

³⁷⁰ *De civit. Dei*, XX, 9, 3; 19, 2; 14.

³⁷¹ *De civit. Dei*, XX, 7, 1; cf. *Sermo* CCLIX, 2.

³⁷² *De civit. Dei*, XX, 6, 1, 2; 7, 2; 9, 1.

³⁷³ Cf. *Enchiridion*, LXXXV-LXXXIX; and *De civitate Dei*, XXII, 4; 5.

³⁷⁴ *Enchiridion*, XCI, XCII.

³⁷⁵ *De civit. Dei*, XXII, 21; XIII, 20; *Enchiridion*, XCI.

the sex will be preserved; ³⁷⁶ but in the just bodily defects will disappear, and the beauty of the elect will be perfect. What will take place in the reprobate, need not concern us. ³⁷⁷

The general resurrection will be followed by the judgment, lasting but one instant, ³⁷⁸ which will be concluded by the final proclamation of salvation, or of damnation. At the beginning of the 5th century, as seen above, ³⁷⁹ the Western Church was invaded by a series of errors which presented salvation as more or less independent of good works, and denied the eternity of the pains of hell either for all the reprobate, or, at least, for certain classes of sinners. St. Augustine refutes the former in the *De civitate Dei*, XXI, 23-27, and in the *De fide et operibus*, 21, *et seq.* We shall be saved, he says, neither by baptism nor by the reception of the Eucharist, nor by orthodoxy of faith, nor by alms-deeds alone, but by our life taken as a whole and our good works; and besides idolaters and infidels, others also shall be condemned on the last day.

St. Augustine is also quite positive on the subject of the nature and duration of the punishment of the reprobate, at least on those points which pertain to dogma strictly so called. The damned shall endure a common chastisement, the *alienatio a vita Dei*, ³⁸⁰ to which will be added a punishment of a lower order, one that we would call the pain of sense. Although the Bishop of Hippo avoids a definite conclusion, he feels inclined to interpret as remorse of conscience the never-dying worm mentioned in the Gospel; but he holds the fire to be a real and material fire which will torture the damned — men and devils — both in their bodies and in their souls; or, if angels be without bodies, this fire

³⁷⁶ *De civit. Dei*, XX, 17.

³⁷⁷ *Enchiridion*, XCI, XCII; *De civit. Dei*, XX, 19.

³⁷⁸ *De civit. Dei*, XX, 14.

³⁷⁹ P. 332.

³⁸⁰ *Enchiridion*, CXIII.

will torture them in their spiritual being "*quamvis miris, tamen veris modis.*"³⁸¹ Of course, these tortures will differ according to the degree of guilt in each condemned being. The torture of children who die without baptism will be *mitissima omnium poena*;³⁸² but for all, the punishment will be everlasting. This is a subject on which the Saint dwelt again and again, precisely because he was aware that it met with much opposition.³⁸³ Besides proving it by Scripture — especially by the texts of the *Apocalypse* (XX, 9, 10) and of *Matthew* (XXV, 41, 46) — and by the usage of the Church in not praying for the damned, he tried to justify it also by reason. As to the view which admitted a gradual mitigation of the punishments of hell, he neither favors, nor condemns it absolutely: "*Poenas damnatorum certis temporum intervallis existiment, si hoc eis placet, aliquatenus mitigari.*"—" *Quod quidem non ideo confirmo, quoniam non resisto.*"³⁸⁴

But the Saint was led by the text of St. Paul, 1 *Corinth.*, III, 11–15, and of *Matthew*, XII, 32, to believe that some sins would be forgiven in the next life, as well as in the present life.³⁸⁵ The former of these texts, which refers to the Christian who is saved, *quasi per ignem*, because on Jesus Christ as a foundation, he has built wood, hay and stubble,³⁸⁶ excited in particular his curiosity. What Christians are here described? The answer is comparatively easy: they are those of the faithful who, while fulfilling what is essential in the commands of Jesus Christ, are too

³⁸¹ *De civit. Dei*, XX, 22; XXI, 9, 2; 10, 1, 2.

³⁸² *Enchiridion*, XCIII, CXI, CXIII; *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 16; *De peccator. merit. et remiss.*, I, 21.

³⁸³ *Enchiridion*, CXI–CXIII; *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 11; 13; 16; 18; 19–27; *Ad Orosium*, 7.

³⁸⁴ *Enchiridion*, CXII; cf. CX; *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 24, 3. But in the *Enarr. in psalm. CV*, 3: "*Quis audacter dixerit?*"

³⁸⁵ *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 24, 2.

³⁸⁶ *De fide et operibus*, 27.

much attached to the pleasures of the senses and to lawful affections; ³⁸⁷ they are those of whom the Saint says elsewhere that, while they are in need of mercy, they are not unworthy of mercy. ³⁸⁸ These Christians owe atonement for their excessive attachment to the world, and this is why "*temporarias poenas alii in hac vita tantum, alii post mortem, alii et nunc et tunc, verumtamen ante iudicium illud severissimum novissimumque patiuntur.*" ³⁸⁹ Certain of them shall give satisfaction, then, after their death. Moreover, St. Paul speaks of fire. What fire is this? The Bishop of Hippo has explained it in various ways. Sometimes he takes it to be the temptations and trials of this life, ³⁹⁰ sometimes, the separations which death imposes, ³⁹¹ and again in the *Enchiridion*, LXIX, he favors the hypothesis of a cleansing fire which, after their death, will torture for a longer or shorter period those faithful whose salvation is otherwise assured: "*nonnullos fideles per ignem quemdam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tanto tardius citiusque salvari.*" He does not deem this hypothesis improbable. ³⁹² According to him, then, there certainly exists a purgatory, and, in this purgatory there may be fire.

It is for the departed who thus need our help and moreover are not unworthy of it, that we give alms and offer up the Holy Sacrifice. ³⁹³ They profit by that help only because, while they were in this life, they deserved to profit by it, for, after death, they cannot merit for themselves, nor can any one merit for them. ³⁹⁴ However they do certainly

³⁸⁷ *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 26, 2; *De fide et operibus*, 27; *Enchiridion*, LXVIII.

³⁸⁸ *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 24, 2; cf. *Enchiridion*, CX.

³⁸⁹ *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 13.

³⁹⁰ *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 26, 2; cf. XXI, 14; *Enchiridion*, LXVIII.

³⁹¹ *De fide et operibus*, 27.

³⁹² *Enchiridion*, LXIX; *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 26, 4.

³⁹³ *Enchiridion*, CX; *De octo Dulcitii quaestion.*, qu. II.

³⁹⁴ *Sermo* CLXXII, 2.

profit by that help: "*Neque negandum est defunctorum animas pietate suorum viventium relevari, cum pro illis sacrificium mediatoris offertur, vel eleemosynae in Ecclesia fiunt.*"³⁹⁵ In the *De civitate Dei*, XXI, 27, 5, the Holy Doctor ascribes also to the intercession of the saints, after death, the forgiveness of certain sins that prevent one from entering into the kingdom of heaven. But what those sins are "*difficillimum est invenire, periculosissimum est definire. Ego certe usque ad hoc tempus cum inde satagerem, ad eorum indaginem pervenire non potui.*"

A few words more about the elect. St. Augustine describes at length their felicity in the XXIInd book of the *City of God*. All shall not be equally happy, but this difference will not cause in them any pain or jealousy.³⁹⁶ Happy with an everlasting bliss that cannot be lost, possessed of a joy and a peace that surpasses all understanding, the elect, like the angels, will see God face to face.³⁹⁷ Will they see Him, after the resurrection, with their bodily eyes: "*utrum per ipsum (corpus) sicut per corpus nunc videmus solem, lunam, stellas?*" They will thus see Jesus; but God? . . . The Saint sets aside the philosophical objection that a body cannot perceive a spirit; he grants, however, that it is difficult, not to say impossible, to prove that the blessed can see God with their material eyes.³⁹⁸ At any rate, they will enjoy, in addition to this sensible or spiritual contemplation of God, the possession of a volatile body that will obey the soul, and of a freewill that henceforth cannot sin, and consequently perfect harmony of their being and faculties. God will be for them "*et vita, et virtus, et copia, et gloria, et honor, et pax et omnia bona;*" He will be all in all.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁵ *Enchiridion*, CX; *De octo Dulcit. quaestion.*, qu. II; *Sermo* CLXXII, 2; *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, 2, 3; cf. *Confess.*, IX, 32.

³⁹⁶ *Enchiridion*, CXI; *De civit. Dei*, XXII, 30, 2.

³⁹⁷ *De civit. Dei*, XII, 20; XXI, 30, 3, 4; XXII, 29, 1.

³⁹⁸ *De civit. Dei*, XXII, 29, 2-6.

³⁹⁹ *De civit. Dei*, XX, 30, 1, 3, 4.

Lastly, we may add that, after the last judgment, all that is perishable and gross in this world, will be consumed by fire, that a new world will appear, adapted and fitted to the new existence of the human race which, being now regenerated and immortal, will for ever enjoy its possession: "*ut scilicet mundus in melius innovatus apte accommodetur hominibus etiam carne in melius innovatis.*"⁴⁰⁰

⁴⁰⁰ *De civit. Dei*, XX, 16; cf. 24, 1.

CHAPTER XI

ST. AUGUSTINE AND PELAGIANISM

§ 1. The Pelagian Doctrine.¹

THE progress of the doctrines which we have just studied is not St. Augustine's main title to theological glory. He rendered his greatest service in the battle against the Pelagian error, and his genius has thrown an ever-enduring light on the obscure problems of the original fall and of grace.

While the Bishop of Hippo was still occupied with the Donatist controversy, Pelagius was preaching the heresy that was to be named after him.

A man of great virtue (*bonum ac praedicandum virum*)²

¹ Sources: First of all, what remains of the writings of Pelagius, Celestius and Julian (cf. the text and the following footnotes); then, the treatise *De vita christiana* of the Pelagian Fastidius (*P. L.*, vol. XL), the treatise *De divitiis* and the five letters of the same author, edited by CASPARI (*Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten . . .* Christiania, 1890, pp. 1-167). In the next place, the works of those who refuted Pelagianism, ST. AUGUSTINE (especially *P. L.*, vol. XLIV, XLV); MARIUS MERCATOR, *Commonitorium; Liber subnotationum in verba Iuliani* (*P. L.*, v. XLVIII); ST. JEROME, *Dialogus contra pelagianos* (*P. L.*, v. XXIII); PAUL OROSIUS and a few others. Finally, the acts of the Councils and the letters of the Popes, that bear on Pelagianism.—Works: F. WOERTER, *Der Pelagianismus nach seinem Ursprunge und seiner Lehre*, Freiburg im Br., 1866. F. KLASSEN, *Die innere Entwicklung des Pelagianismus*, Freiburg im Br., 1882. JACOBI, *Der Lehre des Pelagius*, Leipzig, 1892. A. BRUCHNER, *Julian von Eclanum, sein Leben und seine Lehre*, Berlin, 1897. J. JUENGST, *Kultus und Geschichtsreligion, Pelagianismus und Augustinismus*, Giessen, 1901.

² AUGUST., *De peccator. merit. et remiss.*, III, 5, 1.

and a practical director of souls rather than a theologian or a theorist, the British monk Pelagius could not bear with patience the excuses which sinners drew from human frailty. He looked upon the appeals made to God's grace as to a remedy for our supposed impotence, as the effect of slothful indolence, and constantly insisted with those whom he guided, upon the invincible power of our freewill to resist evil.

During a stay in Rome, in the first years of the 5th century he became acquainted with a Syrian priest, named Rufinus, from whom he learned, according to Marius Mercator, to deny original sin.³ Then, in his turn, he won disciples. The chief of them at this time was Celestius, a young and ardent monk, who, once convinced, could neither remain silent nor palliate the errors of his master.⁴ In the year 417, Pelagius gained another very valuable recruit in the person of Julian, Bishop of Eclanum in Etruria, a vigorous logician and copious writer, who became the architect of the whole system, according to St. Augustine's expression.⁵ These three men — Pelagius, Celestius and Julian, embody Pelagianism. They were its founders and apostles, and they imparted to it its doctrinal consistency. Hence, to know it, it is they whom we must first consult.

Pelagius has left a *Commentarium in epistulas Sancti Pauli*, the authenticity of which has been questioned, and which, at all events, has received corrections and other changes in the course of ages,⁶ then, an *Epistula ad Deme-*

³ *Liber subnotationum, præfatio*, 2; cf. AUGUST., *De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, II, 3.

⁴ He had studied Law and was, in the words of Marius Mercator, "*incredibili loquacitate*" (*Liber subnot.*, præf., 4). St. Augustine contrasts him with Pelagius: "Quid inter istum (Pelagium) et Caelestium in hac quaestione distabit, nisi quod ille apertior, iste occultior fuit; ille pertinacior, iste mendacior, vel certe ille liberior, hic astutior" (*De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, II, 13).

⁵ *Contra Iulian.*, VI, 36.

⁶ *P. L.*, v. XXX.

triadem, written about the year 412 or 413,⁷ and a *Libellus fidei ad Innocentium papam*, which dates from the year 417.⁸ Of his other works, particularly of his *De libero arbitrio*, there remain but a few quotations made by St. Jerome, Marius Mercator and St. Augustine. The quotations made by St. Augustine are, also, all that remains of the work of Celestius. The same may be said of the work of Julian, with this difference, however, that in his case longer and more numerous quotations really reproduce a considerable portion of the *Libri IV* and *Libri VIII adversus Augustinum*, of the Bishop of Eclanum. If we add to these first-hand sources some treatises of the Pelagian Fastidius, written between 420 and 430, and the information supplied by St. Augustine himself and the other opponents of Pelagianism, we can easily form a general idea of its teaching. However, it is but fair to observe that on some points Pelagius, Celestius and Julian did not fully agree, and that the system underwent a certain development from which it received its definite expression.

Its most important and fundamental principle is evidently the Stoic conception of human nature. Man has been created free; this freedom consists in the power to choose between doing or avoiding what is wrong; it is an emancipation from God, by which man becomes his own master and acts just as he pleases: "*Libertas arbitrii, qua a Deo emancipatus homo est, in admittendi peccati et abstinendi a peccato possibilitate consistit;*"⁹ and although this power to choose comes from God, still it is so essential to us that we could not exist without it. For, as Pelagius said, there are three things which we must distinguish in a free act, *posse, velle, esse*: "*Posse in natura, velle in arbitrio, esse*

⁷ P. L., v. XXX; found again in v. XXXIII.

⁸ P. L., v. XLV; found again in v. XLVIII.

⁹ JULIAN ap. AUGUST., *Contra Julian. op. imperf.*, I, 78, 79; PELAG., *Libell. fidei*, 13.

in effectu locamus." Now, of course, I may not will the good, nor do it; but I can not be without the *power* to will it and to do it. On the other hand, to will and to do depend on me, and it is I who give them to myself: from this comes the merit and reward due to my deeds: "*Primum illud, id est posse ad Deum proprie pertinet, qui illud creaturae suae contulit: duo vero reliqua, hic est velle et esse ad hominem referenda sunt, quia de arbitrii fonte descendunt. Ergo in voluntate et opere bono laus hominis est.*"¹⁰

Against this omnipotence of the freewill the objection was raised that this faculty had been weakened from the beginning and inclined to evil. This the Pelagians denied; for them, freedom was like a balance, the scales of which could be moved only by the will.¹¹ Man was ever capable of avoiding evil and observing the divine commands, and might, therefore, strictly speaking, live without sin: "*Ego dico posse esse hominem sine peccato.*"¹² True, Pelagius did not always dare to affirm this as fact,¹³ but at times, he did not fear to affirm that, both before and after the coming of Christ, many philosophers had constantly practised virtue, and he drew up lists of Biblical personages who, according to him, had never sinned.¹⁴

So, sin is essentially an act of the freewill: "*Quid sit quodcumque peccatum? Quod vitari potest aut quod vitari non potest? Si quod vitari non potest, peccatum non est: si quod vitari potest, potest homo sine peccato esse quod vitari potest.*"¹⁵ With such premises, it becomes impos-

¹⁰ Apud AUGUST., *De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, I, 5.

¹¹ *Definitiones Caelestii* apud AUGUST., *De perfect. iustitiae hominis*, 4; *Contra Iulian. opus imperf.*, III, 110, 117.

¹² PELAG., ap. AUGUST., *De natura et gratia*, 8; *De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, I, 5; *De gestis Pelagii*, 16; etc.

¹³ *De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, I, 5; *De gestis Pelagii*, 16.

¹⁴ *Ad Demetriadem*, 3, 7; *De natura et gratia*, 42.

¹⁵ *Definit. Caelest.* ap. AUGUST., *De perfect. iustitiae*, 2, 6; *De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, II, 6; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 48; VI, 21.

sible, of course, to admit original sin. No wonder that the Pelagians deny it absolutely. They deny it, because, did it exist, this original sin must have a cause; now, that cause could not be the will of the child: it would, then, be that of God, and consequently we would have, not a sin of the child, but a sin of God.¹⁶ They deny it, because to admit it would be to admit a sin of nature, *i. e.*, an evil and vitiated nature, and this is the Manichean doctrine.¹⁷ They deny it, because such a sin of nature would be indelible, since all that belongs to a being's nature endures as long as that nature.¹⁸ Finally, they deny it, because, if Adam could transmit his sin to his descendants, why could not a just man transmit his justice to his children, and why would not other sins also be transmitted? ¹⁹ Hence there is no sin *ex traduce*: the only harm our first parent transmits to us, comes from his bad example, and it is in this sense that the *ex uno in condemnationem* of St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, V, 16, must be interpreted.²⁰

However, even while denying original sin properly so called, the Pelagians might have accepted the doctrine of the fall and have acknowledged that death, sickness, ignorance and concupiscence were a consequence of Adam's fault. But this would be admitting a defect, a weakening of our nature in something that was, in their eyes, essential to it, it would be professing that Adam was born in a condition superior to our present state, and this they deny altogether.

¹⁶ *Defin. Caelestii*, ap. AUGUST., *De perfect. iust.*, 2.

¹⁷ JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Contra Iulian. op. imp.* VI, 8 and foll., 21. Of course the Pelagians did not fail to present St. Augustine's teaching as a remnant, in his mind, of the Manicheism which he had formerly professed.

¹⁸ JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 61.

¹⁹ PELAG., ap. MARIUS MERCAT., *Commonitorium*, II, 10; JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Cont. Iulian. op. imp.*, VI, 21.

²⁰ JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, II, 107; *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, II, 3; *De peccator. merit. et remiss.*, I, 9.

No; Adam was created mortal: "*Adam mortalem factum, qui sive peccaret, sive non peccaret, moriturus esset.*"²¹ This is proved by the institution of marriage, destined from the beginning to fill up the voids caused by death. It is proved, again, by the fact that redemption has not destroyed death. If death depends on sin, "*ablationem mortis amotio peccati debet operari.*"²² The words *morte moriemini*, therefore, do not designate physical death, but the spiritual death of sin; the *pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris* does not express a chastisement, but announces that the miseries of this life will come to an end, and thus these words are a message of consolation. And if it be urged that the increase of the pains and sorrows of Adam and Eve were, as it seems from *Genesis*, III, 17-19, a punishment of their sin, then that punishment was inflicted on them personally, not on their race: "*personis hominum sunt illata, non generi.*"²³

The same may be said of concupiscence. It existed in our first parents as it exists in us, since it is in desiring the forbidden fruit that they sinned. Sexual concupiscence, in particular, was created by God together with the body; it existed in Jesus; none but a Manichean can see in it an evil and a consequence of sin.²⁴

Briefly, all may be summed up in this saying of Celestius: "*Quoniam infantes nuper nati in illo statu sunt in quo Adam fuit ante praevaricationem.*"²⁵

However, there remained a difficulty. If nothing whatever is vitiated in us, if we are like Adam when he came

²¹ CAELESTIUS, ap. AUGUST., *De gestis Pelagii*, 23.

²² JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Contra Iulian. op. imp.* II, 93; VI, 30; CAELESTIUS, ap. AUGUST., *De gestis Pelagii*, 23.

²³ JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, VI, 27, 25; *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 2.

²⁴ JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 71; III, 212; IV, 45-64.

²⁵ Ap. AUGUST., *De gestis Pelagii*, 23.

forth from the hands of God, and if freewill suffices to keep us from every sin, why do we fall so often and why is sin so prevalent? The only explanation Pelagius gave, was that, from childhood, we have contracted the habit of sinning, a habit which has become in us a second nature.²⁶ Moreover, he acknowledged that men were "*terrenis cupiditatibus dediti, et, mutorum more animalium, tantummodo praesentia diligentes*;"²⁷ but he did not seek the cause of this overpowering tendency beyond the isolated acts of the freewill: he saw only guilty individuals, not a whole sinful human race.

Furthermore, the denial of original sin necessarily involved a change of view regarding infant baptism, which was then generally practised. Why still maintain that it was given *in remissionem peccatorum*, since children were sinless? The Pelagians did not maintain it. They did not, however, propose to do away with infant baptism; they even anathematized those who did not look upon it as necessary;²⁸ but, they added, whereas baptism considered in itself is one, its grace is manifold and adapts itself to the needs of those by whom it is received. In some, that grace is one of remedy and regeneration, in others, it is merely one of sanctification, and increases the likeness to Christ which they possess already: "*Quos fecerat (Christus) condendo bonos facit innovando adoptandoque meliores*." This is what happens in the case of children: they receive the positive effects of baptism, *viz.*: "*illuminatio spiritualis, adoptio filiorum Dei, municipatus Ierusalem caelestis, sanctificatio atque in Christi membra translatio, et possessio regni caelorum*."²⁹ This last point, particularly, was im-

²⁶ *Ad Demetriadem*, 8, 17.

²⁷ Ap. AUGUST., *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, I, 11.

²⁸ JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Contra Iulian. op. imperf.*, I, 53; PELAG., *Libellus fidei*, 7; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, IV, 2.

²⁹ JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 53; V, 9; VI, 36; cf. *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, IV, 2.

portant. The Pelagians, distinguishing between *eternal life* and the *kingdom of heaven*, taught that baptism was necessary to obtain, not the former, but only the latter. To inherit the kingdom, according to *John*, III, 5, one must be a child of God and this was only accomplished through baptism. The reception of this sacrament was, therefore, justified, even in the case of new-born infants.³⁰

Nevertheless, the objection still remained that, except the forgiveness of actual sins, every strictly medicinal grace became useless, since human nature was sound and whole. But was grace necessary to avoid evil and do good? Pelagius acknowledged, in a general way, that it was: "*Anathemo qui vel sentit vel dicit gratiam Dei qua Christus venit in hunc mundum peccatores salvos facere, non solum per singulas horas, aut per singula momenta, sed etiam per singulos actus nostros non esse necessariam; et qui hanc conantur auferre, poenas sortiantur aeternas.*"³¹ Celestius, on the contrary, denied such a necessity.³² As to Julian, he admitted that men need grace, especially for supernatural works.³³ However, we must look beneath the surface of words, and bear in mind both the calculated reserve of the innovators and the development which their doctrine underwent as a result of controversy.

First, Pelagius admitted this necessity of grace, not exactly *ad operandum*, but *ad facilius operandum*: "*Propterea dari gratiam ut quod a Deo praecipitur facilius impleatur.*"³⁴ Then, by grace the Pelagians meant many things that were not the preventing and interior grace, the

³⁰ *De gestis Pelagii*, 23, 24; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, II, 7; *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 26; *De praedestin. sanctorum*, 25.

³¹ *Ap. AUGUST., De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, I, 2, 8, 36; *De gestis Pelagii*, 31; *Ad Demetriadem*, 3.

³² *Ap. AUGUST., De gestis Pelagii*, 42.

³³ *Ap. AUGUST., Contra Julian. op. imp.*, III, 106; cf. I, 52.

³⁴ *Ap. AUGUST., De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, I, 27-30; cf. *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, II, 17.

grace of will as it should be understood. Our creation is a grace, our superiority over animals in the possession of reason and freewill is also a grace, the daily gifts of Providence are graces also, the Mosaic Law was a grace, and *a fortiori*, of course, the Incarnation is a grace, one that was given us in order to excite in us the love of God.³⁵ Pelagius was accused of designating as grace freewill itself when recanting his views in the synod of Diospolis.³⁶ But he gave also the same name to the Law and to the Gospel. Freewill had long sufficed to keep man in the path of duty; later, after nature had become worn, as it were, through a prolonged vicious way of acting and through ignorance, God had given the Law as a help for human weakness; when it, in turn, became ineffective, it was replaced by the redemption.³⁷ The Redeemer cleansed us in His blood; through Him we were born into a better life, and He left us, too, His teaching and example as incentives to virtue.³⁸ This is the great grace: "*Adiuvant nos Deus, per doctrinam et revelationem suam, dum cordis nostri oculos aperit, dum nobis, ne praesentibus occupemur, futura demonstrat, dum diaboli pandit insidias, dum nos multiformi et ineffabili dono gratiae caelestis illuminat. . . . Qui haec dicit gratiam tibi videtur negare?*"³⁹ To *will* and to *do* depend on us, for these two things we need no help whatever, and prayer is not intended to obtain them for us; but our *power* receives help, from teaching and from the Law, and still more particularly, the grace of the examples of Jesus.⁴⁰

³⁵ JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 94.

³⁶ Ap. AUGUST., *De gestis Pelagii*, 22.

³⁷ PELAG., ap. AUGUST., *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, II, 30; *Ad Demetriadem*, 8.

³⁸ PELAGIUS, *Ad Demetriadem*, 8.

³⁹ PELAGIUS, ap. AUGUST., *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, I, 8.

⁴⁰ This is the summary of the book of Pelagius, *De libero arbitrio*, as given by St. Augustine in the *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. origin.*, I, 45; cf. *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, IV, 11.

To sum up: the Pelagians admitted external graces of instruction and example, perhaps even interior graces of illumination;⁴¹ they admitted no preventing and interior grace of the will: the divine energy did not penetrate into the very heart of our energy, to increase and transform it.

Furthermore, the Pelagians taught that these graces of light and example could be merited, and merited through the exercise of the freewill left to itself: "*Ibi vero remunerandi sunt qui bene libero utentes arbitrio, merentur Domini gratiam et eius mandata custodiunt.*"⁴² Celestius even claimed that penance merited the forgiveness of sins;⁴³ this opinion, however, was exclusively his own.⁴⁴

It is evident that in such a system there was no room for the doctrine, in its totality, of predestination either to grace or to glory, *ante praevisa merita*, since the first graces were merited, the first acts of salvation accomplished, by the powers of nature alone. Hence the Pelagians admitted no predestination strictly so called; they admitted only a final decree, which was subsequent to the prevision of the merits or demerits of every man, and determined and sealed, as it were, his destiny: "*Praesciebat ergo (Deus) qui futuri essent sancti et immaculati per liberae voluntatis arbitrium, et ideo eos ante mundi constitutionem, in ipsa sua praescientia, qua tales futuros esse praescivit elegit. Elegit ergo antequam essent, praedestinans filios quos futuros sanctos immaculatosque praescivit; utique ipse non fecit, nec se facturum, sed illos futuros esse praevidit.*"⁴⁵ But when they were asked to explain why a child, dying immediately after baptism, was predestined, they were at a loss for an answer,

⁴¹ See the text quoted above, *De grat. Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, I, 8.

⁴² PELAG., ap. AUGUST., *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, I, 34, 27; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, II, 17; *Contra Iulian.*, IV, 15.

⁴³ Ap. AUGUST., *De gestis Pelagii*, 42.

⁴⁴ *De gestis Pelagii*, 43; *De gratia et lib. arbit.*, 15.

⁴⁵ AUGUST., *De praedestin. sanctor.*, 36, and cf. 35-37; *Epist. CXCIV*,

since, in this particular case, there had been no prevision whatever either of merits or of demerits.⁴⁶

Finally, to be less incomplete, we may note an excessive rigorism taught, not by Pelagius who always protested against the charge of having spread such a doctrine, but by Celestius, who said that unless rich Christians give up all their wealth, they do not derive any merit from the good which they seem to accomplish, and cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.⁴⁷ This exaggeration agrees quite well with the austere character of the moral principles preached by the Pelagians.

Such are the main outlines of the doctrine which the British monk and his two colleagues strove to propagate during the first quarter of the 5th century. It had been, even then, formulated in six propositions ascribed to Celestius, to which we may join three others which, St. Augustine was informed, were maintained in Sicily by some of the faithful. These propositions are as follows:

“Adam mortalem factum, qui sive peccaret, sive non peccaret, moriturus esset.

“Quoniam peccatum Adae ipsum solum laeserit, et non genus humanum.

“Quoniam Lex sic mittit ad regnum quemadmodum Evangelium.

“Quoniam ante adventum Christi fuerunt homines sine peccato.

“Quoniam infantes nuper nati in illo statu sunt in quo Adam fuit ante praevaricationem.

“Quoniam neque per mortem vel praevaricationem Adae omne genus hominum moriatur, neque per resurrectionem Christi omne genus hominum resurgat.

“Posse hominem sine peccato, si velit, esse.

⁴⁶ *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, II, 15, 16.

⁴⁷ *De gestis Pelagii*, 24.

"Infantes, etsi non baptizentur, habere vitam aeternam.

*"Divites baptizatos, nisi omnibus abrenuntient, si quid boni visi fuerint facere, non reputari illis, neque regnum Dei posse eos habere."*⁴⁸

Few words are needed to show the naturalism of such a system. The spirit of rationalism is particularly manifest in the works of Julian, whose extreme fondness for philosophy equals his contempt for tradition and for the common sentiment of the faithful, and who presents reason as the criterion by which one should judge of the truth of the doctrine of the Bible as well as that of the Fathers.⁴⁹

On the other hand, in rejecting original sin, in claiming that nothing is vitiated in our nature and that freedom is like a pair of scales whose beam is perfectly horizontal, Pelagianism displays a very superficial and meagre knowledge of the human soul, and failed utterly to account for the great anomaly of sin in the world.

Besides, once the fall was denied, Redemption could not be understood. For, in the system of Pelagius, individuals indeed might have need of redemption, but human nature, not having fallen in our first parents, did not need it. And it became useless for the Word to unite Himself to that nature in order to restore to it, in Him and through contact with Him, holiness and immortality; Jesus was no longer for humanity a second Adam who repaired what the

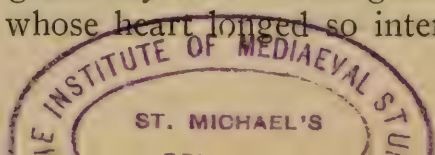
⁴⁸ *De gestis Pelagii*, 23, 24; *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, I, 12; *Epist.* CLVI. MARIUS MERCATOR, *Liber subnotationum*, *præf.*, 5.

⁴⁹ "Cum igitur liquido clareat hanc sanam et veram esse sententiam quam primo loco ratio, deinde scripturarum munivit auctoritas, et quam sanctorum virorum semper celebravit eruditio, qui tamen veritati auctoritatem non suo tribuere consensu, sed testimonium et gloriam de eius susceperet consortio, nullum prudentem conturbet conspiratio perditorum." (JULIAN, ap. AUGUST., *Contra Iulian.*, I, 29). Cf. on this point HARNACK, *Lehrb. der DG.*, III, p. 188, or *Hist. of Dogma*, vol. V, p. 190, note 1, and the texts quoted in it.

first had destroyed. In baptism, the child might perhaps receive a higher generation, but he was not, strictly speaking, *regenerated*, *reborn* from death to life: the Christian language itself was thus nullified.

Then too, the grace of Jesus was not the fundamental and intimate principle of this new life. In the Pelagian system, grace acted upon the Christian from the outside, as it were; it did not vivify him nor strengthen him interiorly. Christ remained, indeed, the master to whom all must listen, and the model which all must copy. But He was no longer the strength that raised the soul above herself, nor the flame that fed her charity. The *vivit in me Christus* of St. Paul was perfectly meaningless.

What is more, in declaring that man was sufficient to himself for doing good, and in representing him as freed from God by his freewill, Pelagianism sapped the very idea of religion, which rests exclusively on man's constant need of God's help. For salvation through grace, through divine mercy, it substituted a commonplace moralism. Man must, of course, observe the law and fulfill his duty; but God had merely to see whether or not the duty had been fulfilled and the law observed; between the creditor and the debtor it was a mere matter of assets and liabilities. There was no room in such a conception for the loving kindness of the Creator, for the riches of redemption, for humility, trust and self-surrender of the soul, for prayer. It was the end of all real religion. The Church saw the danger and forthwith guarded against it. For this defense of her faith, she could find no champion better prepared than Augustine, no one more apt to perceive what there was false in the new heresy. He whose soul was so humble, who felt so deeply the abyss of human depravity and remembered so gratefully what divine grace had done for his salvation, he whose heart longed so intensely to be closely



united to God, must feel profound aversion for this harsh and proud naturalism.

§ 2. History and Condemnation of Pelagianism.

It is not within the scope of our study to treat in detail of the progress of the Pelagian propaganda and of the combat which the Church waged against the heresy. We shall recall only what refers to the history of dogma.

Celestius and Pelagius had gained adherents in Rome; they gained others in Sicily whither they fled in the year 409, on hearing of the Gothic invasion under Alaric. But they remained in Sicily only a short while. They went to Africa together; but very soon Pelagius again set sail for the East. Celestius, now alone, could not longer remain quiet, and he began to preach his doctrine in all earnestness.

The new teaching very soon roused hostile attention, and Celestius was charged with heresy by Deacon Paulinus, who later became the biographer of St. Ambrose. The *libellus* accused Celestius of upholding the six propositions quoted above. A provincial Council assembled in the year 411⁵⁰ and the culprit was called upon to defend himself. He refused to declare his own mind *de traduce peccati*, alleging that priests were not unanimous on the point, and that it was a debatable question, not a dogma that must be held: "*licet quaestionis res sit ista, non haeresis.*" He gave the same reply to the question as to whether or not children were born in the state in which Adam was before his fall. However, Celestius declared that he advocated the baptism of new-born infants. Marius Mercator adds that he was urged, though to no avail, to condemn the propositions said to contain his doctrine, that he refused to do so and was excommunicated, that he first appealed from this sentence

⁵⁰ A part of the official report has been preserved by St. Augustine (*De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, II, 3). The following details are taken from this document.

to Rome, then gave up his appeal and departed for Ephesus, where he succeeded in having himself ordained.⁵¹

Unfortunately, he left behind partisans of his errors: they had to be brought back to the fold, and it is at this juncture that St. Augustine makes his appearance. At the request of Bishop Aurelius, he delivered at Carthage a series of sermons on the existence of original sin and the necessity of grace;⁵² then, in response to bishops and laymen who consulted him, he wrote, one after the other, the *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* (412), the *De spiritu et littera* (412), the CLVIIth letter which is a whole treatise and must have been composed in the year 414, the *De natura et gratia* (415) and the *De perfectione institutiae hominis* (415).

If the Bishop of Hippo displayed such an amount of intellectual activity, it was because conditions seemed critical. In Africa, the heresy was spreading secretly (*iam occulte mussitant*);⁵³ Sicily was coming under its influence; Rome was reported to look upon it with favor,⁵⁴ and the rumor was afloat that the East had sided with Pelagius or at least had proclaimed his innocence. This last point was very important, indeed. What, then, had happened?

As we have said, Pelagius hastily left Africa, in the year 411. He went to Palestine. Till the year 415, it is not known very well what became of him. But in the year 415, Paul Orosius, who had been sent by St. Augustine, arrived also in Palestine. In a synod which met at Jerusalem,⁵⁵ he related to the Bishops what had happened in Africa in connection with Pelagianism, and read the

⁵¹ *Commonitorium*, I, 2.

⁵² Among others, sermons CCXCIII and CCXCIV.

⁵³ AUGUST., *Epist.* CLVII, 22.

⁵⁴ AUGUST., *Epist.* CLXXVII, 2; CXCI, 1.

⁵⁵ We know all these details from P. Orosius himself, *Liber apologeticus de arbitrii libertate*, 3-7 (P. L., XXXI, 1176 and foll.).

CLVIIth letter of St. Augustine to Hilary. But John, bishop of Jerusalem, favored Pelagius; so he had him come in to answer the charges made by Orosius. The heresiarch confessed that he had said and still persisted in saying: "*Hominem posse esse sine peccato, et mandata Dei facile custodire, si velit;*" he added, it is true, "*non sine adiutorio Dei.*" Moreover, it must be said that the difference of language contributed much to make the discussion still more confused. At last the bishops agreed that, since the question under consideration had arisen in the West, it was better for them to abstain from any declaration, till Pope Innocent, to whom a letter would be sent, should make a decision.

This was a moral victory for Pelagius; it became still more decisive a short time after. Two Gallic bishops, Heros of Arles, and Lazarus of Aix, who were then at Bethlehem, reiterated the accusation of Orosius, and presented a *libellus* drawn up in due form, to the Council of Diospolis which met at the end of the year 415 and was attended by 14 bishops.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, when the day came, they did not appear to maintain and justify their accusation. Pelagius disowned some of the objectionable propositions that were attributed to him—and belonged really to Celestius;—he explained the others in a way which, although more or less equivocal, was sufficient for judges so superficial and so little interested in the question as were the Greeks. In a word, the bishops of Diospolis were satisfied with a general declaration in which Pelagius protested that he reprov'd all that was against the doctrine of the Church, and they declared him worthy of ecclesiastical communion.⁵⁷ This was, in the words of St. Jerome, a

⁵⁶ What is known about this Council comes chiefly from St. Augustine, *De gestis Pelagii*, 1 and foll. He gives the names of the bishops who were present, *Contra Iulian.*, I, 19.

⁵⁷ *De gestis Pelagii*, 44.

“wretched” synod; ⁵⁸ for St. Augustine, it was rather a synod of dupes.⁵⁹

Whether they were dupes or accomplices, the sentence of the bishops of Diospolis was a triumph for Pelagius, and it was of the utmost importance to counteract its far-reaching effect. Some two years later, St. Augustine strove to explain that triumph in the *De gestis Pelagii* (417). Meanwhile, two African councils met in the year 416: one, at Carthage, was attended by more than 63 bishops of Proconsular Africa, the other, at Milevis, by 59 Numidian bishops. The Fathers of these two Councils wrote to Pope Innocent,⁶⁰ requesting him to condemn Celestius and Pelagius,⁶¹ and especially to insist on the two fundamental tenets of the error, *viz.*, the inutility of grace and of infant baptism “*ad consequendam vitam aeternam.*”⁶² To these two letters the Bishop of Hippo and four of his colleagues joined a third letter, in which they laid before the Pope the whole question with all the documents. This is the CLXXVIIth letter.⁶³

Innocent replied on January 27, 417, in three different letters.⁶⁴ In the first two, sent to the bishops of the Council of Carthage and of Milevis, he affirmed strongly the authority of the see of Peter “*a quo ipse episcopatus et tota auctoritas nominis huius emersit;*”⁶⁵ then, coming to the point, he declared that he approved the doctrine of the

⁵⁸ *Epist.* CXLIII, 2.

⁵⁹ *De gestis Pelagii*, 2; *Epist.* CLXXVII, 2.

⁶⁰ Among the letters of St. Augustine, they are letters CLXXV and CLXXVI, given again in *P. L.*, v. XX, 564, 568

⁶¹ *Epist.* CLXXV, 1.

⁶² *Epist.* CLXXVI, 3.

⁶³ Given again in *P. L.*, XX, 572.

⁶⁴ Among the letters of St. Augustine, they are letters CLXXXI, CLXXXII, CLXXXIII, given again, in their chronological order, in *P. L.*, XX, 582, 589, 594.

⁶⁵ *Epist.* CLXXXI, 1; CLXXXII, 2.

Africans, especially in what pertained to grace and its necessity, and formally excommunicated "*apostolici vigoris auctoritate*" Pelagius and Celestius.⁶⁶ As to the acts of the Council of Diospolis, he acknowledged in letter CLXXXIII, 3, 4, that he had received them, but that he did not know exactly what value to ascribe to them, because, as they had been brought to him by laymen, he could not say whether they were authentic or not. Thus Rome stood with Augustine, the Holy Doctor was victorious, and it was on this occasion that, at the end of his CXXXIst sermon, n. 10, he exclaimed that the agreement of two Councils and of the Apostolic See settled the question once for all: "*Causa finita est: utinam aliquando finiatur error!*"

Alas! the "causa" was far from being finished; it was about to break forth again. On March 18, 417, Zosimus succeeded Innocent. He was "*natione grecus,*"⁶⁷ and this may explain the too conciliatory attitude which he at first took on this question. Pelagius had sent from the East to Innocent a *libellus* which was presented to Zosimus.⁶⁸ After dwelling at length upon the Trinity and the Incarnation, Pelagius proclaimed that he received but one baptism "*quod iisdem sacramenti verbis in infantibus quibus etiam in maioribus asserimus esse celebrandum*" (7); he rejected the preëxistence of souls which, he said, were created by God (9); affirmed that the divine precepts could be observed both "*ab omnibus in commune*" and "*a singulis*" (10), and added these words: "*Liberum sic confitemur arbitrium, ut dicamus nos semper Dei indigere auxilio. . . . Dicimus hominem semper et peccare et non peccare posse, ut semper nos liberi confiteamur esse arbitrii*" (13). Of course, all this was correct, but altogether insufficient in the

⁶⁶ *Epist.* CLXXXII, 6.

⁶⁷ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. DUCHESNE, I, 225.

⁶⁸ It is the *Fides ecclesiae catholicae* at times ascribed to St. Augustine. *P. L.*, XLV, 1716 and foll.; HAHN, *Bibliothek*, § 209.

present case. For nothing was said about original sin, and the question of grace was barely touched upon.

On the other hand, even before the *libellus* of Pelagius had reached the Pope, Celestius arrived in Rome. He also brought a *libellus*.⁶⁹ After treating at length of the truths of the creed, he stated that, should anyone wish to discuss other subjects than the truths of faith, he had no intention to settle them *definita auctoritate*; his purpose was simply to set forth his own view and to submit it to the Holy See. Hence he admitted baptism *in remissionem peccatorum*, necessary to children that they might enter into the *kingdom of heaven*; on the other hand, he rejected sin *ex traduce* as an insult to the Creator.

This document was read by Celestius in presence of Zosimus, surrounded by the Roman clergy. No doubt, the protests of submission of the culprit made an impression on the Pope, who urged him to condemn the propositions that were ascribed to him: "*Illa omnia damnas quae iactata sunt de nomine tuo?*"—"Damno," Celestius answered, "*secundum sententiam beatae memoriae praecessoris tui Innocentii*;" and he accepted the doctrine of Innocent's letters.⁷⁰

These general declarations probably seemed sufficient to Zosimus, for he was satisfied with them, and also with the explanations given by Pelagius in his *libellus*; and he wrote to the bishops of Africa two rather ungracious letters,⁷¹ in which he affirmed that Pelagius and Celestius were not really guilty of the errors with which they had been charged.

⁶⁹ The remaining fragments of this *libellus* are given in *P. L.*, XLV, 1718 and foll. They are taken from ST. AUGUSTINE, *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, II, 5-7, 26. Cf. also HAHN, *Bibliothek*, § 210.

⁷⁰ AUGUST., *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, II, 5, 6; cf. *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, II, 8.

⁷¹ These are the IIId (on Celestius) and the IIIId letter (on Pelagius), in *P. L.*, XX, 649, 654, given again in vol. XLV, 1719, 1721. The letter on Pelagius was written on September 21, 417, a short while after that which refers to Celestius.

However, he added that he would not pronounce final judgment on Celestius, and he granted to the accusers of the latter two months in which to prove his guilt. If these two months should elapse before the proof was brought forward, Celestius was to be definitely absolved.⁷²

Naturally the Africans were much displeased with these letters; but they did not lose time. A Council of 214 bishops met at Carthage in the end of autumn in the year 417 and decided that the retraction of Celestius was unsatisfactory, and that the two heretics would remain under condemnation until they presented a clear and explicit profession of faith on the necessity of grace.⁷³ When the Pope received this decision, he also was displeased: he saw in it a violation of the rule which forbade discussion of the judgments of the Apostolic See or reversion of its sentences.⁷⁴ But he thought it better policy to yield and, in his reply,⁷⁵ leaving matters in *statu quo*, he said that he had no objection whatever to further investigation of the question. The definite judgment remained still in abeyance.

The letter of Zosimus reached Carthage on April 29, 418. More than 200 bishops had already gathered there for another Council which opened on May 1, and drew up nine canons against the Pelagian heresy.⁷⁶ The first reproved the error according to which Adam, however he might act, was naturally mortal, *non peccati merito, sed necessitate naturae*. The second condemned those who denied that children must be baptized, or that they had contracted

⁷² *Epist.* II, 6.

⁷³ AUGUST., *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, II, 5; PROSPER, *Contra collatorem*, V, 15.

⁷⁴ "Quamvis Patrum traditio apostolicae sedi auctoritatem tantam tribuerit ut de eius iudicio disceptare nullus auderet . . ." and farther: "Cum tantum nobis esset auctoritatis ut nullus de nostra possit retractare sententia . . ." (*Epist.* XII, 1).

⁷⁵ This is letter XII, *P. L.*, XX, 676, given again in vol. XLV, 1725.

⁷⁶ See them in *P. L.*, XLV, 1728 and foll.; HAHN, *Bibliothek*, § 169.

Adam's original sin, so that they were not baptized *in remissionem peccatorum*. The third was directed against those who admitted for unbaptized children some sort of intermediate state between heaven and hell, in which these children were to live happy. "*Quis catholicus dubitet,*" the bishops added, "*participem fieri diaboli eum qui cohaeres esse non meruit Christi?*"⁷⁷ The fourth reproved those who looked upon the grace of justification in Christ Jesus, merely as a remission of sins, and not as an *adiutorium* against falling again. The fifth condemned those who considered grace a mere light "*ut sciamus quid appetere et quid vitare debeamus,*" and not a power "*ut quod faciendum cognoverimus etiam facere diligamus atque valeamus.*" The sixth, those for whom grace was only a help "*ut quod facere per liberum iubemur arbitrium facilius possimus implere per gratiam.*" The seventh condemned those who held that it was through humility only and not in truth that every man must proclaim himself a sinner. Finally, the eighth and ninth condemned those who affirmed that the saints recited the prayer, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*, not for themselves personally, but for the sinners who were in the Church, or that they recited it, not in truth, but through humility "*ut humiliter, non veraciter hoc dicatur.*"

These decisions were made known to the Pope.⁷⁸ He was probably impressed with them, and realized that something must be done. On the other hand, acting, it is probable, at the request of the African bishops, the emperors had recently enacted a rescript expelling from Rome Celestius and Pelagius, and punishing their followers with exile and the confiscation of their goods.⁷⁹ There was no going back. For the second time, Zosimus called upon Celestius

⁷⁷ Although this canon is missing in some texts, it seems authentic. See the note at the bottom of the text of *P. L.*, XLV, 1728.

⁷⁸ The synodal letter is no longer extant.

⁷⁹ *P. L.*, XLV, 1726.

to appear before him and the bishops of the Roman province; but, instead of appearing, Celestius took to flight. The Council then condemned Celestius and Pelagius,⁸⁰ and a lengthy *Epistula Tractoria* which announced this condemnation and related all the details of the case, was sent by the Pope to all the churches of the West and of the East, with the order that it should be subscribed. Only a few fragments of this letter are now extant.⁸¹ From them we learn that Zosimus taught, in his letter, original sin and the necessity of grace, and adopted as his own canons 4, 5 and 6, and probably all the canons of the last Council of Carthage.⁸²

The question was now settled: one had to choose between signing the *Tractoria* or going into exile. Almost all the bishops gave their signature and, in the words of St. Augustine,⁸³ Pelagianism was condemned by the whole world. Eighteen bishops only, led by Julian of Eclanum, refused to submit. They sent to Zosimus a *libellus fidei*⁸⁴ which was rather ambiguous on the subject of baptism and grace (7, 9, 15), but very explicit in its denial of original sin (12, 14) and in its assertion of the innocence of the saints of the Old Testament (13). They requested an answer, and declared that, in case they were made to subscribe by force, they would appeal to a general Council (16). They were deposed and ordered into exile. They wandered in the East for a long while, seeking bishops who

⁸⁰ It was perhaps at that time that the Pope became acquainted with the commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of St. Paul (MARIUS MERCATOR, *Commonit.*, II, III, 1).

⁸¹ All gathered in *P. L.*, XX, 693 and foll. They are taken from St. AUGUSTINE, *Epist.* CXC, 23, St. CELESTINE, *Epist.* XXI, 9-11, and St. PROSPER, *Contra Collatorem*, V, 3.

⁸² PROSPER, *Contra Collatorem*, XXI, 1.

⁸³ *Epist.* CXC, 22; MARIUS MERCATOR, *Commonit.*, III, 1.

⁸⁴ *P. L.*, XLV, 1732 and foll. The *libellus* (18) says that it was addressed to Augustine. This may have been the Bishop of Aquileia, who had to see that his suffragans signed the document.

would welcome them, and a general Council that would pronounce on their case. Julian went to Ephesus in 431, in the hope that at last his wishes were about to be fulfilled. But the general Council confirmed the preceding condemnations and his own deposition.⁸⁵

Pelagianism never recovered from the blow which it had received from the ecclesiastical and civil authorities combined; yet it did not disappear at once, and, not to speak of Semi-Pelagianism which preserved some of its elements, it is well known that all the Popes who came immediately after Zosimus, Boniface (418-422), Celestine (422-432), Sixtus III (432-440), St. Leo (440-461)⁸⁶ and later on Gelasius (492-496)⁸⁷ had to cope with this heresy. We have a very authentic proof of its persistency, in the writings of the British Bishop Fastidius, which have been mentioned above; nor can we forget that another Pelagian, Agricola, tried very hard, about the year 429, to win over Great Britain,⁸⁸ and that his efforts determined both St. Germanus and St. Lupus to undertake missionary work in that country. It must be said also that, after the years 425-430, Pelagianism seems to have toned down its negations: from that time on, Pelagians did not reject the original fall properly so called; they rejected only sin and grace.⁸⁹

§ 3. St. Augustine's Anthropology. Primitive State of Man.⁹⁰

St. Augustine had contributed in large measure to the

⁸⁵ See the letter of the Council to Pope Celestine: among the letters of St. CELESTINE, *Epist.* XX, 3, 6, *P. L.*, L, 518, 522. In the first reference, *Θεσσαλίας* is probably a mistake for *Ἰταλίας*.

⁸⁶ See *Epist.* I, II (*P. L.*, LIV).

⁸⁷ See *Epist.* V, VI, VII (*P. L.*, LIX).

⁸⁸ PROSPER, *Chronicle*, anno 429 (*P. L.*, LI, 594).

⁸⁹ AUGUST., *Epist.* CXCI, 12; and see the letters of the Popes mentioned above.

⁹⁰ Works on the subjects treated in this paragraph and in the following: J. ERNST, *Die Werke und Tugenden der Ungläubigen nach S.*

overthrow of Pelagianism, by bringing about its condemnation; he contributed still more, if possible, to this end by refuting it and opposing to its many errors a doctrine which he had studied to its very depths and long pondered in his mind. The ecclesiastical writers whose works were in his hands, supplied him on these abstruse problems with superficial, incomplete and on the whole unsatisfactory answers. But the Doctor of grace drew out what was latent in these answers, completed them, and brought them to that point of maturity which was necessary in order to make them effective and victorious. In rendering this great service against Pelagianism, his genius truly organized supernatural and Christian anthropology. It is from this point of view that we must now consider his work, as we study the various solutions which he gave personally to the mooted questions, and set forth his doctrine of man's elevation and fall, of grace and predestination.

Now, we know from St. Augustine himself that, on all these various points, his views were not fully settled at the beginning.⁹¹ Especially before he was made a bishop, he failed to realize distinctly certain truths which later became quite clear. Hence, when analyzing his thoughts, we must take into account the epoch when he wrote the books in which the thoughts dealt with are contained. We shall not be far wrong in any matter of importance, if we divide his literary life into two periods: the one devoted to researches which were accompanied with uncertainty, extend-

Augustin, Freiburg im Br., 1871. ROTTMANNER, *Der Augustinismus*, München, 1892. A. KRANICH, *Ueber die Empfanglichkeit der menschl. Natur für die Güter . . . nach dem Lehre des hl. Augustin*, Paderborn, 1892. J. TURMEL, *Le dogme du péché originel dans saint Augustin*, in the *Revue d'hist. et de littér. religieuses*, v. VI, VII (1901, 1902). J. ESPENBERGER, *Die Elemente der Erbsünde nach Augustin und der Frühscholastik*, Mainz, 1905. J. MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus*, Freiburg im B., 1909.

⁹¹ *Retractationes*, I, 23, 2; *De predestinatione sanctorum*, 7, 8.

ing from the year 386 to the year 397, the date of his episcopal consecration; the other, characterized by the definite possession of the truth which coincides with the period of his episcopate (397-430). Needless to say, however, the acquired results of the earlier epoch were not such as to preclude all development. New light came as the happy result of the clashing of ideas in years of controversy.

Taking the questions in chronological order, the first that comes before us is that of Adam's condition before his fall.

Here we notice already, in the views of the Holy Doctor, that evolution which has just been pointed out. In the *De Genesi contra manichaeos* written in the years 388-391, he represents the body of Adam, of course as a material body made of clay (II, 8), but also as transparent, heavenly (II, 32), not needing, apparently, to be sustained by food (II, 12), having no sexual inclination, since the union of Adam and Eve was altogether spiritual and existed merely "*ut copulatione spirituali spirituales fetus ederent, id est bona opera divinae laudis*" (II, 15; I, 30).⁹² This last idea is set forth again in the *De catechizandis rudibus*, 29 (about 400). But in the *De bono coniugali*, 2, (401), Augustine begins to question its truth, and in the *De Genesi ad litteram* (401-415), he gives a precise and final expression of his doctrine. The body of Adam in the state of innocence was animal and earthly; and it fed on the real fruits of paradise (VI, 30-36, 39; VIII, 7). Woman was given man for the bringing forth of children, and this even in the garden of Eden, for the immortality of men was no obstacle at all to their multiplication, since God could transform their bodies

⁹² Cf. *Retract.*, I, 10, 2. It is fair to observe that St. Augustine himself declares (*De Genesi ad litteram*, VIII, 5) that he had adopted these allegorical explanations merely because he had no other explanation at hand and not without telling his readers (*De Gen. cont. manich.*, II, 3) that he was willing to accept a literal explanation if any could be furnished him.

and glorify them after a certain lapse of time here below, without subjecting them to death (IX, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14).

But, whereas St. Augustine modified his views on the subject we have just considered, he affirmed, from the very beginning, that Adam, in the state of innocence, possessed those gifts that are called preternatural and supernatural.

First, immortality,⁹³ of which the Bishop of Hippo explains the nature in the *De Genesi ad litteram*, VI, 36:

“Illud (corpus) quippe ante peccatum et mortale secundum aliam, et immortale secundum aliam causam dici poterat; id est mortale quia poterat mori, immortale quia poterat non mori. Aliud est enim non posse mori, sicut quasdam naturas immortales creavit Deus: aliud est autem posse non mori, secundum quem modum primus creatus est homo immortalis, quod ei praestabatur de ligno vitae, non de constitutione naturae:⁹⁴ a quo ligno separatus est cum peccasset, ut posset mori qui, nisi peccasset, posset non mori. Mortalis ergo erat conditione corporis animalis, immortalis autem beneficio conditoris.”

This conditional immortality implied immunity from miseries, disease and old age “*ne corpus eius (Adami) vel infirmitate, vel aetate in deterius mutaretur aut in occasum etiam laberetur.*”⁹⁵

Then, over and above the bodily blessings were those of the mind and the soul, an infused wisdom and knowledge which had enabled Adam to call the various species of living beings by the names that fitted them;⁹⁶ a perfect submission of the senses to the mind, and of the mind to the law of God,—a submission which rendered impossible the instinctive concupiscence of the flesh and its inordinate move-

⁹³ *De Genesi contra manich.*, II, 8, 32; *De libero arbitrio*, III, 55; *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 2; etc.

⁹⁴ Cf. here *De Gen. ad litt.*, VIII, 11.

⁹⁵ *De Gen. ad litt.*, VIII, 11; IX, 6; *De Gen. contra manich.*, II, 8.

⁹⁶ *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, V, 1.

ments. Conjugal union itself would have been "*sine ullo inquieto ardore libidinis*"; — "*nulla concupiscentia tanquam stimulus inoboedientis carnis urgebat.*"⁹⁷ Then, the freedom of doing good or evil, but with an inclination to good. "*Bonae igitur voluntatis factus est homo, paratus ad oboediendum Deo, et praeceptum oboedienter accipiens, quod sine ulla quamdiu vellet difficultate servaret, et sine ulla, cum vellet, necessitate desereret, nec illud sane infructuose, nec illud impune facturus.*"⁹⁸ For this freedom was not "*non posse peccare,*" which is the perfect freedom of the elect, but "*posse non peccare.*"⁹⁹

Lastly, as a fitting crown, grace, that which theologians call "habitual" grace. It is true that on this particular point St. Augustine is less explicit. However, he looks upon the state of Adam innocent and that in which we are renewed "*in iustitia et sanctitate veritatis*" as identical. He says that we receive "*per gratiam iustitiae*" that divine likeness which Adam forfeited or saw decreased, through his sin, and that through Jesus we reënter into possession of the "*iustitia fidei*" of which we had been deprived in Adam.¹⁰⁰ Besides the gifts that are called preternatural, there was, then, in our first father, a special gift of grace, *justice*, which made him a spiritual man in his inmost being.¹⁰¹

But does St. Augustine really regard all these gifts of immortality, knowledge, moral righteousness and justice, which resulted necessarily in a state of perfect happiness,¹⁰² as purely gratuitous, in no way due to our first parent, and

⁹⁷ *De Gen. ad litt.*, IX, 6, 8, 18; *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 1, 6, 7, 8.

⁹⁸ *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, V, 61; VI, 5, 16; *De civit. Dei*, XIV, 11, 1.

⁹⁹ *De corrept. et gratia*, 33.

¹⁰⁰ *De Gen. ad litt.*, VI, 37, 38; *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 7; cf. *Retract.*, II, 24, 2.

¹⁰¹ *De Gen. ad litt.*, VI, 39; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, VI, 39; *De corrept. et gr.*, 9; *Confess.*, XIII, 32.

¹⁰² *De civit. Dei*, XIV, 10.

consequently strictly preternatural or supernatural, or does he look upon them as the natural equipment of innocent man, the expression of the normal and regular state in which God must create him? Some authors have adopted the latter view.¹⁰³ According to them, the Bishop of Hippo saw in the primitive state of Adam simply man's natural state. For he considers our actual nature to be one that has been wounded and altered by sin: hence it has lost its normal condition. On the other hand, the nature "*quae proprie natura dicitur*" is, in his eyes, the morally sound nature "*in qua sine vitio creati sumus*," whereas our actual nature is so called only "*propter originem*,"—an origin which is stained precisely because of a vice "*contra naturam*."¹⁰⁴ But these reasons have also their counterpart. First, the perusal of the texts of St. Augustine leaves one under the impression that he thinks but little of what was possible, but that he is concerned with what was and what is, and that few of his reasonings bear on human nature's *constitutivum* or *exigibile* or *consecutivum*, such as theologians have defined it, but that he takes man as he was made first by God, and then by the fall. The natural is the work of God; the "contra-natural" is the work of sin. Furthermore, the Holy Doctor ascribes explicitly to a special providence of God at least several of the gifts of Adam in the state of innocence. Justice was a *gratia iustitiae*;¹⁰⁵ freedom from concupiscence was *gratia Dei magna*, and man enjoyed it, only because he was "*vestitus gratia*."¹⁰⁶ The "*posse non mori*" came to man "*de ligno vitae non de constitutione naturae*," for Adam was mortal "*conditione corporis ani-*

¹⁰³ For instance, J. TURMEL, *Revue d'Hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII, 224 and foll.

¹⁰⁴ *Retract.*, I, 15, 6; I, 10, 3; *De civit. Dei*, XIII, 15; XIV, 11, 1; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, II, 186.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. above.

¹⁰⁶ *Contra Iulian.*, IV, 82; *De peccat. meritis et remiss.*, I, 21; *De civit. Dei*, XIII, 13; *De Gen. ad. litt.*, XI, 41, 42.

malis," and immortal *beneficio conditoris*.¹⁰⁷ The same may be said of the freedom from pain and decrepitude¹⁰⁸ and also of Adam's extraordinary knowledge, although the Bishop of Hippo does not teach explicitly this last point, but rather implies it.¹⁰⁹

St. Augustine, therefore, truly looked upon the privileges of Adam in the state of innocence, at least in the measure in which Adam himself possessed them, as the effect of God's special liberality and as gifts which, while being in full harmony with his nature, yet were not due to it.

4. Original Sin and its Consequences.

From what has been said above, we have shown how, in the *De Genesi contra manichaeos*, St. Augustine interprets the narratives of Genesis. We find the same method applied in the interpretation of the narrative of the fall. The serpent seems to be hardly more than the figure of Satan, the temptation is altogether interior, while the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is perhaps considered a mere allegory.¹¹⁰ But later on all is changed. Satan remains indeed the true tempter; but, now, he speaks to Eve through the intermediary of a real serpent the tongue of which he moves that it may articulate real words.¹¹¹ While Eve is deceived, Adam is not; but, as he does not want to part with his wife, he is willing to share in her fault. Their sin was the greater, as they could easily recall and observe God's prohibition. Moreover, before disobeying exteriorly, they had been guilty of self-complacency and had sinned by pride: "*Diabolus hominem non cepisset, nisi iam ille sibi ipsi placere coepisset.*"¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Cf. above.

¹⁰⁸ *De Gen. ad litt.*, VIII, 11; *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 3.

¹⁰⁹ *De Gen. ad litt.*, IX, 20.

¹¹⁰ *De Gen. contra manich.*, II, 12, 20.

¹¹¹ *De Gen. ad litt.*, XI, 34; *De civit. Dei*, XIV, 11, 2.

¹¹² *De civit. Dei*, XIV, 13, 2; 11, 2; 12; 13, 1; 14; *De Gen. ad litt.*, XI, 39.

This sin of Adam has been transmitted to his descendants. This is original sin. We know, from St. Augustine himself, that his opponents charged him with having varied, in this matter, from the teaching of his earlier writings.¹¹³ We even know what texts were cited in proof of this allegation: one was from the *De vera religione*, 27, two from the *De Genesi contra manichaeos*, II, 43, two from the *De libero arbitrio*, III, 49, 50, one from the *De duabus animabus*, 12, and another from the *Acta contra Fortunatum*, 21.¹¹⁴ The reader will observe that almost all of these works were written against the Manicheans. Their author denied the existence of a nature evil in itself, and insisted on the existence of freewill.

The Bishop of Hippo protested vigorously against the accusation of variation and maintained that he had always believed and taught, concerning the existence of original sin, what the Church believes and teaches.¹¹⁵ His asseveration was not unfounded, and it is true that, even taking those writings which he composed first or almost first, we find in them either an explicit mention or an implication, if not of the doctrine of original sin properly so called, at least of the doctrine of a fall, of a loss which befalls our nature *ex traduce* and has its source in the sin of Adam.¹¹⁶ But, after the year 397, St. Augustine's thoughts gain in precision, completeness and cogency. Later on we shall study his conception of original sin and his teaching on the subject. We may remark too that it is impossible for us even merely to enumerate all the passages in which he affirms the existence of that sin. We may with more profit point out

¹¹³ *Contra Iulian.*, VI, 39.

¹¹⁴ Cf. according to the order, *Retractat.*, I, 13, 5; I, 10, 3; I, 9, 3; I, 15, 2; I, 16, 2.

¹¹⁵ *Contra Iulian.*, VI, 39.

¹¹⁶ Cf. for instance: *De libero arbitrio*, III, 31; III, 54; *De moribus Ecclesiae*, I, 35; *De divers. quaest. ad Simplic.*, I, qu. I, 10.

immediately the proofs which he gave to the Pelagians in support of his assertion.

The first was taken from Scripture. St. Augustine used *Psalm* L,¹¹⁷ the Book of *Job*, XIV, 4, which he read in the text of the LXX,¹¹⁸ and the passage of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, II, 3.¹¹⁹ His two most important texts, however, were that of the Epistle to the *Romans*, V, 12, and of *John*, III, 5.

The Bishop of Hippo read as follows the former of these two texts: "*Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors; et ita in omnes homines pertransiit in quo omnes peccaverunt.*"¹²⁰ It is almost the text of the Vulgate, except for the omission of the word *mors* before *pertransiit*. The Pelagians understood these words to mean a propagation of sin through imitation, in as much as Adam had first given the example of revolt.¹²¹ St. Augustine answered this: "*Non primus peccavit Adam. Si primum peccatorem requiris, diabolum vide.*" Now, it is not said that sin has come through the devil, but *per hominem*; hence it is question not of imitation, but of transmission.¹²² On the other hand, the Saint had first given *peccatum* as the subject of *pertransiit*; Julian found fault with this construction, which he thought altogether arbitrary. Augustine observed that it mattered little whether *mors* or *peccatum* was looked upon as the subject of *pertransiit*, since death would not have been transmitted to the children of Adam, had not sin itself been transmitted:

¹¹⁷ "Quid est quod se dicit (David) in iniquitate conceptum, nisi quia trahitur iniquitas ex Adam?" (*Enarr. in psalm. L, 10*).

¹¹⁸ "Inde est quod nec unius diei infantem mundum dicit a peccato" (*Sermo CLXX, 2*).

¹¹⁹ *Sermo CLXX, 2*.

¹²⁰ *Sermo CCXCIV, 15*.

¹²¹ *Contra Julian. op. imp., II, 47*.

¹²² *Sermo CCXCIV, 15; De peccat. merit. et rem., I, 10; De nupt. et concup., II, 45; Contra Julian. op. imp., II, 47, 50, 52, 56; III, 85*.

*"Quia non erat iustum sine crimine transire supplicium."*¹²³ As to the *in quo*, after hesitating for a while, he referred it to *hominem*: *"Restat ut in illo primo homine peccasse omnes intellegantur."*¹²⁴ But he persisted always in translating it by *in whom*, and in setting aside the meaning *propter quod, eo quod*, which the Pelagians gave to the Greek ἐφ' ᾧ: in his eyes, this was a new, defective and even false meaning: *"novum atque distortum et a vero abhorrentem."*¹²⁵

The text of *John*, III, 5, is as follows: *"Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu, non potest intrare in regnum Dei."* It shows plainly that no one can enter into the kingdom of heaven, unless he is born again. The Pelagians tried to get rid of it, by distinguishing the *kingdom of heaven*, which in fact did require baptism, from the *eternal life*, the lot of the unbaptized, whether they are infants or adults who have kept the natural law. St. Augustine has clearly set forth this system in his sermon CCXCIV, 2. The real question at stake was simply whether, between the state of salvation and that of damnation, between heaven and hell, there was a third state, a third place for those who had neither shared in the grace of Jesus Christ, nor deserved chastisement for their personal sins. The Bishop of Hippo refused absolutely to admit this view: *"Hoc novum in Ecclesia, prius inauditum est esse vitam aeternam praepter regnum caelorum."*¹²⁶ The text of *John*, VI, 54: *"Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam et biberitis sanguinem meum, non habebitis vitam in vobis"* is quite plain on the subject. One has life, life everlasting, only through communion; but no one can com-

¹²³ *Contra Iulian. op. imper.*, II, 63, 50; *De nupt. et concup.*, II, 45.

¹²⁴ *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, IV, 7; *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, II.

¹²⁵ *Contra Iulian.*, VI, 75. Our readers know that commentators disagree with Augustine on this point.

¹²⁶ *Sermo CCXCIV*, 3, 4.

municate unless he is baptized; hence baptism is necessary for eternal life as well as for the kingdom of heaven.¹²⁷ Therefore, unbaptized children are damned.¹²⁸ Now, they cannot be damned unless they have sinned; hence, on coming into this world, infants are sinners; they are stained with original sin, and are baptized *in remissionem peccatorum*, so that baptism is for them both an act of penance and the source of faith.¹²⁹ Even granting the distinction made by the Pelagians, the conclusion would still remain correct: for to be deprived of the kingdom of God is a punishment, and why should this punishment be inflicted on one who is innocent?¹³⁰

St. Augustine took from the Fathers who had preceded him, his second proof of the existence of original sin. He did not give this argument all at once and *in globo*, for at the beginning he had not deeply studied it; but he examined it closely and set it forth, as his readings became more and more extensive. He quoted, then, in support of his doctrine St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, the Ambrosiaster, St. Irenæus, Reticius of Autun, Olympius, bishop of an unknown town in Spain, St. Jerome, then several Greek Fathers, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Basil, the Fathers of the Council of Diospolis and finally St. John Chrysostom.¹³¹ These were testimonies to which the heretics had no reply to make: "*Convinceris undique: luce clariora sunt testimonia tanta sanctorum.*"¹³²

Infant baptism and the rites with which it was accompanied afforded St. Augustine a third argument in behalf

¹²⁷ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 26; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, I, 40.

¹²⁸ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, III, 7.

¹²⁹ *De peccat. merit. et rem.*, I, 34; III, 7; I, 25.

¹³⁰ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 58; *Contra Iulian.*, VI, 32.

¹³¹ *Sermo CCXCIV*, 19; *De pecc. mer. et rem.*, III, 10; *De natura et gr.*, 72; *De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, II, 47; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, V, 7, 21-24, 29; *Contra Iulian.*, I, 5-II, 15-19, 22-28.

¹³² *Contra Iulian.*, I, 30.

of original sin. That baptism is an *ablution*, a *cleansing*; those who received it are *redeemed* from the slavery of Satan, and share in the redemption of Jesus Christ, as is proved by the exorcisms and by the renunciations of Satan, required of the sponsors. How account for all this, except by a sin of origin, which affects infants from their birth and has placed them under Satan's dominion? ¹³³ This argument puzzled the Pelagians considerably, so much so that some adopted the belief that, after their birth, infants had committed personal sins. ¹³⁴

Finally, and here we come to what constituted the special characteristic of the Augustinian system—the Bishop of Hippo derived another proof in support of his doctrine from man's present physical and moral condition.

First, there are the sufferings of children. These sufferings are many and very painful. They extend "*usque ad daemonum incursus*." How account for them? They are not chastisements for personal sins, nor are they intended to try the virtue of those who are afflicted with them. Wherefore, unless we are ready to accuse God of injustice and cruelty, or to follow the Manichean error which places in man a principle which is essentially evil, we must say that these sufferings are the just punishment of some original sin. ¹³⁵

Then, there is that profound and universal misery of mankind, disease, pain, poverty, ignorance, vice, labor, accidents, misfortunes of all kinds, which are the permanent condition of our unhappy race. ¹³⁶ There is, worst of all, this opposition within us between the body and the mind,

¹³³ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 23; *Contra Iulian.*, VII, 11; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 50.

¹³⁴ *De pecc. mer. et rem.*, I, 63, 64.

¹³⁵ *Contra Iulian.*, VI, 67; III, 9; *Contra Iulian. op. imperf.*, I, 27, 29, 49; II, 87, 119; V, 64; VI, 36.

¹³⁶ See the descriptions of the *Contra Iulian. op. imp.* I, 50, 54; III, 44; VI, 5, and chiefly of the *De civit. Dei*, XXII, 22, 1-3.

this filthy concupiscence of which we are ashamed and which we do our best to conceal, so deeply and instinctively do we feel that it cannot be the Creator's work, at least in the degree in which it exists now.¹³⁷ It seems to St. Augustine that such a wretched condition is not man's natural and normal state, that God would have been wanting in sanctity and justice, had He without reason inflicted such a condition upon us; and therefore, that man's present state is the consequence of a fault which lies heavy upon it, and is shared by every one of us.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 24; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, I, 31, 33, 35.

¹³⁸ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 24; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, V, 48. Does St. Augustine attribute to all men the original stain, and, beside Jesus, does he except no one, not even Mary? Those scholars who claim that he bears witness to the Immaculate Conception, quote two (authentic) texts. The first is taken from the *De natura et gratia*, 42; the second is found in the *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum*, IV, 122. Moreover, if we compare the text of the *De natura et gratia*, just mentioned, and a text of the *Contra Iulianum*, V, 57, we remark that they form the premises of a syllogism the necessary conclusion of which is the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. To this, it may be replied, however: (1) In the text of the *De natura et gratia*, 42, the discussion between St. Augustine and Pelagius is not on original sin, but on actual sins; and it is from the latter that the Saint declares Mary absolutely free. (2) In the second text of the *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum*, IV, 122, original sin is in question and Julian charges his opponent with submitting Mary to it: "Tu ipsam Mariam diabolo nascendi conditione transcribis"; unfortunately, Augustine's answer is ambiguous: "Non transcribimus diabolo Mariam conditione nascendi; sed ideo quia ipsa conditio solvitur gratia renascendi." The reason why St. Augustine does not make Mary the slave of Satan by her birth, is not because, like Julian, he refuses to admit original sin, but because the condition of Mary's birth has been set right by the grace of a new birth. The Saint does not say when this grace of a new birth produced its effect. (3) Finally, it is very true that, in the *De natura et gratia*, 42 and in the *Contra Iulianum*, V, 57, taken together, the Bishop of Hippo lays down principles the consequence of which is the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin; but he does not draw this consequence; he fails apparently to see it; nay, he sets it aside formally in a passage of the *Contra Iulianum*: "Nullus est hominum praeter ipsum (Christum) qui peccatum non

In what, exactly, does this fault consist, and among all the effects that result in us from the sin of Adam, death, suffering, ignorance, concupiscence, loss of justice, what is the effect that, properly speaking, places us in the state of sin and is in us *the* sin of origin, the others being merely a consequence and punishment of the primitive fall?

St. Augustine has told us in all simplicity how puzzled he was to answer this question: "*Nihil est ad praedicandum notius,*" he would say of original sin, "*nihil ad intellegendum secretius.*"¹³⁹ However, after due consideration, it seemed to him that the sin of origin in us consisted in the inordinate concupiscence and especially in the sexual concupiscence which reigns in us, and which was willed by Adam. For, by concupiscence, the Bishop of Hippo does not understand merely the appetite for bodily pleasures; he understands that general tendency in us away from the higher good and towards the lower pleasures: "*cum quisque avertitur a divinis vereque manentibus et ad mutabilia atque incerta convertitur.*"¹⁴⁰ But of all tendencies, the strongest and also that which is in most manifest rebellion against reason and God, is evidently the sexual passion, and this is why St. Augustine sees chiefly in it the substance itself of original sin: "*Hoc est malum peccati in quo nascitur omnis homo.*"¹⁴¹ This passion is both sin and the

habuerit infantilis aetatis exortu." Moreover, it is certain that, elsewhere, St. Augustine adopts views and uses expressions that are incompatible with Mary's privilege, *e. g.*, the idea that exemption from original sin requires a birth *ex virgine* (cf. below), and also the expression *caro peccati*, which he uses to designate the body of the Blessed Virgin—an expression which applies to all members of fallen mankind—in contrast with the expression *similitudo carnis peccati*, by which he designates the Savior's innocent body (*De peccator. merit. et remiss.*, II, 38; *Contra Iulian.*, V, 52; *Contra Iulian. op. imperf.*, IV, 79; VI, 22). This question is fully treated in PH. FRIEDRICH, *Die Mariologie des hl. Augustinus*, Köln, 1907, pp. 183-233.

¹³⁹ *De moribus Eccl. cathol.*, I, 40.

¹⁴⁰ *De libero arbitrio*, I, 34.

¹⁴¹ *De peccat. mer. et rem.*, I, 57.

punishment of sin "*sic est autem peccatum ut sit poena peccati*," because it is both a disorder and a chastisement for the sin of our first parent.¹⁴²

Here, however, there arose a difficulty. If concupiscence is original sin, baptism does not take away this sin, since it does not destroy concupiscence. St. Augustine answers by distinguishing in concupiscence the *actus* and the *reatus*, i. e., the act itself or the fact of concupiscence, and its guilt. While baptism does not interfere with concupiscence considered *quoad actum*, it does remove the element of guilt and of badness, so that concupiscence is no longer imputed as sin: "*Ad haec respondetur dimitti concupiscentiam carnis in baptismo non ut non sit, sed ut in peccatum non imputetur.*"¹⁴³ For in every sin we can distinguish the act by which it is committed — for instance adultery — and the guilt, the *reatus*, which remains after the act has been accomplished and which disappears only through divine forgiveness. Since, then, it may happen that ordinary sins *transeant actu, maneant reatu*, "*sic itaque fieri e contrario potest ut etiam illud maneat actu, transeat reatu.*"¹⁴⁴ Hence, while concupiscence is sin in the unbaptized, it is no longer sin in those who have been baptized; still it remains an evil, for what baptism cleanses, is not concupiscence, but the Christian who is baptized,¹⁴⁵ and this evil may be called sin, because it comes from sin and leads to sin.¹⁴⁶ It is a wound from which the shaft has been removed. Baptism removes the shaft; but the wound remains.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² *De peccat. mer. et rem.*, II, 36; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 47.

¹⁴³ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 28, 29; cf. 27; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, I, 27.

¹⁴⁴ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 29. Another example may be taken from an illegitimate union which marriage renders legitimate: *Manet actu, transit reatu*.

¹⁴⁵ *Contra Iulian.*, VI, 12, 51; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, IV, 61.

¹⁴⁶ *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, I, 27.

¹⁴⁷ *De trinit.*, XIV, 23.

But, it was objected, marriage, which cannot be separated from concupiscence, sets it in motion, is, then, evil. All know how the Bishop of Hippo answered this difficulty. What is evil, is not marriage, but concupiscence, which accompanies the conjugal act, and accompanies it, not necessarily,—since innocent man would not have known concupiscence—but in consequence of the original fall.¹⁴⁸

Original sin is then inordinate concupiscence, and especially sexual concupiscence. How it is voluntary still remains to be explained, for wherever there is sin, there is also the will of man; else, sin would be willed by God. How human nature is not vitiated essentially by it—to believe which would be Manicheism—must also be elucidated. St. Augustine answers the first question by observing that original sin is voluntary through the will of Adam, our moral leader, whose heirs we are and whose responsibility and liability we share: “*Illud quod in parvulis dicitur originale peccatum, cum adhuc non utantur arbitrio voluntatis, non absurde vocatur etiam voluntarium, quia a prima hominis mala voluntate contractum factum est quodammodo haereditarium.*”¹⁴⁹ And again: “*Sed peccatis, inquis, alienis non utique perire debuerunt (parvuli). Aliena sunt sed paterna sunt: ac per hoc iure seminationis atque germinationis et nostra sunt.*”¹⁵⁰

As to the second question, the Holy Doctor answered Julian's charge of Manicheism by remarking that he did not represent concupiscence as a substance bad in itself, but

¹⁴⁸ *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, II, 38; *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 20, 27; II, 25, etc.

¹⁴⁹ *Retract.*, I, 13, 5.

¹⁵⁰ *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 48; *De peccat. merit. et rem.*, III, 15. St. Augustine pushes this principle so far that he deems it probable that children inherit the sins of their parents; down to what generation, he hesitates to say (*Enchiridion*, XLVI, XLVII; cf. *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, III, 57). See, however, *Contra Faustum*, XXII, 64; *Brevic. collat.*, III, 17; *Enarr. in psalm. CVIII*, 15.

only as a defect, a disease, a languor of human nature, which impedes indeed its operations, but does not corrupt its inner being: "*Non dixeram (naturam humanam) malam non esse sed malum non esse, hoc est ut planius loquar, non dixeram vitiatam non esse, sed vitium non esse.*"¹⁵¹ This is why St. Augustine prefers to the expression *naturale peccatum* that of *originale peccatum*, as marking much better that this sin is to be ascribed to man and to the first man.¹⁵²

From all that has been said it is evident that it is through generation, and more especially through the working of concupiscence in the act of generation, that original sin is transmitted. The case of pagans presents no difficulty. The flesh which is still stained and sinful, concupiscence which has remained sin, produces a stained and sinful flesh, a guilty concupiscence. In baptized parents, concupiscence, it is true, is not imputed as sin; however, it accompanies the conjugal act, and produces in the child concupiscence which is in him a sin, the original sin, since he has not as yet been regenerated. The texts which express this doctrine of St. Augustine are exceedingly numerous: "*Propter hanc (concupiscentiam) ergo fit ut etiam de iustis et legitimis nuptiis filiorum Dei, non filii Dei sed filii saeculi generentur: quia et ii qui genuerant, si iam regenerati sunt, non ex hoc generant ex quo filii Dei sunt sed ex quo adhuc filii saeculi. . . . Ex hac igitur concupiscentia carnis quod nascitur, utique mundo non Deo nascitur. Deo autem nascitur cum ex aqua et Spiritu renascitur. Huius concupiscentiae reatum regeneratio sola dimittit, ac per hoc generatio trahit.*"¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, III, 190, 192; *Contra Iulian.*, VI, 53; *De nupt. et conc.*, I, 28.

¹⁵² *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, V, 9.

¹⁵³ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 20, 21, 27; *Contra Iulian.*, V, 52; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, II, 42, 218; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, I, 27; *Sermo CLI*, 5.

This is why Jesus Christ determined to be born of a virgin: a virginal birth was the condition of His perfect innocence: "*Propterea quando nasci est in carne dignatus, sine peccato solus est natus.*"¹⁵⁴ "*Quia Mariae corpus quamvis inde (ex concupiscentia) venerit, tamen eam non traiecit in corpus quod non inde concepit.*"¹⁵⁵

This explained satisfactorily what took place in the flesh, concupiscence begetting concupiscence, just as vitiated blood begets other vitiated blood;¹⁵⁶ but it failed to explain why the rational soul, the chief subject of original sin in which the *reatus peccati* lies, is affected by this stain. Thus, deeper researches had to be made, and these researches involved the solution of the problem of the origin of the soul, for the explanation of the stain of the soul varied necessarily, according as one adopted creationism or traducianism. In the former hypothesis it must be assumed that the soul, which God created in a state of purity and then joins to a body, for reasons which we do not know, is stained through its contact with a flesh which is vitiated. In the latter hypothesis, it may be admitted that the soul of the child is directly stained by the souls of the parents, from which it is derived: "*Aut utrumque vitiatum ex homine trahitur, aut alterum in altero tanquam in vitiato vase corrumpitur, ubi occulta iustitia divinae legis includitur.*"¹⁵⁷ Now, on this question of the origin of the soul, St. Augustine could never come to a definite conclusion. Personally and as a philosopher, he favored creationism;¹⁵⁸ but, in his eyes, this doctrine was incompatible with that of

¹⁵⁴ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 27.

¹⁵⁵ *Contra Iulian.*, V, 52; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, II, 42, 218; *Sermo* CLI, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Not indeed that the flesh alone, independently of the soul by which it is vivified, is the subject of concupiscence; St. Augustine refers to the living and animated flesh. Cf. *De perfectione iustitiae*, 19.

¹⁵⁷ *Contra Iulian.*, V, 7.

¹⁵⁸ *Epist.* CLXVI, 3, 4; CXC, 15.

original sin. His greatest difficulty was to explain how God, after creating the souls of children in a state of innocence, could place thousands and thousands of these souls in bodies in which He knew they were to be stained and in such conditions that they could not be regenerated by baptism. Where and when and how had they deserved to be joined to these bodies? ¹⁵⁹ Were Christian thinkers obliged, then, to adopt Origen's belief in the preëxistence of souls? Augustine had no sympathy for it. ¹⁶⁰ Thus he was thrown back upon traducianism, the more so that the Pelagians naturally taught creationism and derived from it an argument against him. ¹⁶¹ When he wrote his *Retractationes* (426-427), the Bishop of Hippo had not yet come to a conclusion; ¹⁶² but he had resolutely raised the dogmatic question above the philosophical question concerning the origin of souls. It matters not what opinion we hold on this last point, provided we firmly maintain the certain teaching of faith on the sin of origin: "*Ista fides non negetur, et hoc quod de anima latet aut ex otio discitur, aut, sicut alia multa in hac vita, sine salutis labe nescitur.*" ¹⁶³

After studying the existence, essence and mode of propagation of original sin, it still remains for us to examine its consequences and discover what havoc it has wrought in our nature and in mankind.

We do not now speak of death, suffering, ignorance and the miseries of this life, which are a consequence of Adam's fault and accompany in every one of us the participation in this fault; we refer to effects more intimate and more closely connected with our supernatural end.

¹⁵⁹ *De anima et eius origine*, I, 6, 13; *Epist.* CLXVI, 10.

¹⁶⁰ *De anima et eius orig.*, I, 15.

¹⁶¹ *De peccat. merit. et rem.*, III, 5; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, III, 26; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, II, 178; IV, 104.

¹⁶² *Retract.*, I, 1, 3.

¹⁶³ *Contra Iulian.*, V, 17.

Of these effects the first and also the most important in the eyes of St. Augustine is the loss of the freedom of moral good. As has been seen, the Holy Doctor looked upon the *posse non peccare* as a privilege of Adam in the state of innocence. Adam had the power of avoiding evil, and owing to a grace of which we shall speak later (*auxilium sine quo non*), of doing good. This is properly what St. Augustine means by *liberty*. This liberty has been forfeited by original sin. Without grace, we can no longer avoid evil, nor can we, without a still more special grace, do what is good. Not indeed that we perform necessarily the evil which we do; no, we perform it freely, and in this precisely lies the *free will* which we still possess and which must be carefully distinguished from liberty. Unfortunately, the Bishop of Hippo did not always adhere, in his expressions, to this most important distinction between the words *libertas* and *liberum arbitrium*, and more than once he greatly scandalized his opponents by saying simply that fallen man had lost freewill.¹⁶⁴ In reality, however, his meaning is very plain: “*Quis autem nostrum dicat quod primi hominis peccato perierit liberum arbitrium de humano genere? Libertas quidem periit per peccatum, sed illa quae in paradiso fuit, habendi plenam cum immortalitate iustitiam. . . . Nam liberum arbitrium usque adeo in peccatore non periit, ut per illud peccent maxime omnes qui cum delectatione peccant et amore peccati, hoc eis placet quod eos libet. Unde et apostolus: Cum essetis, inquit, servi peccati, liberi fuistis iustitiae. Ecce ostenduntur etiam peccato minime, nisi alia libertate, servire. Liberi ergo a iustitia non sunt nisi arbitrio voluntatis, liberi autem a peccato non fiunt nisi gratia Salvatoris.*” “*Et liberum arbitrium captivatum non-nisi ad peccatum valet; ad iustitiam vero nisi divinitus libe-*

¹⁶⁴ For instance *Enchiridion*, XXX; cf. *De perfect. iustitiae hominis*, IV, 9; *Epist.* CXLV, 2; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, I, 4.

ratum adiutumque non valet."¹⁶⁵ Moreover: "*Si liberum non est nisi quod duo potest velle, id est et bonum et malum, liber Deus non est qui malum non potest velle.*"¹⁶⁶ Hence the Holy Doctor implies that grace finds in us and does not at all create freewill.¹⁶⁷ The texts which seem to express the contrary, must be understood of the freedom of good.¹⁶⁸

In the mind of St. Augustine then, there is no question but, that without God's grace, man can only sin.¹⁶⁹ We shall see later what grace he needs in order to avoid evil. Meanwhile the Bishop of Hippo concludes, from the state of weakness into which we have been thrown through the fall, that, while theoretically and absolutely speaking, we can, with God's grace, live without committing any fault, concretely the fact has not been realized, except in the case of Jesus and His holy Mother.¹⁷⁰ However, in his works previous to the year 418, he did not altogether reprove the contrary opinion;¹⁷¹ but the Council of Carthage of that year having defined that even the just said in all truth the *Dimitte nobis peccata nostra*, the Holy Doctor henceforth declared untenable the opinion of Pelagius on the perfect innocence of some of the personages of the Old and of the New Law.¹⁷²

A third consequence of original sin is, in principle, the universal character of damnation. Absolutely all men are

¹⁶⁵ *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, I, 5; III, 24; I, 7; *Enchiridion*, XXX; *De nupt. et conc.*, II, 8; *Sermo CLVI*, 12; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 94; III, 120.

¹⁶⁶ *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 100, 102.

¹⁶⁷ *De gratia et lib. arbitr.*, 37, 38.

¹⁶⁸ For instance, *De spiritu et littera*, 52; *Epist. CXCIV*, 3; *CCXVII*, 8.

¹⁶⁹ However, cf. below, p. 479, note 190, and p. 481.

¹⁷⁰ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, II, 7, 8, 34; *De natura et gratia*, 42.

¹⁷¹ *De perfect. iust. hominis*, 44.

¹⁷² *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, IV, 27.

guilty at their birth and are outside the way of salvation. Therefore, in strict justice, they are lost eternally and cannot be saved except through the grace and mercy of God. The whole of mankind is "*una quaedam massa peccati*," an "*universa massa perditionis*."¹⁷³ Our readers are familiar with the mournful description of this universal condemnation, given in the *Enchiridion* (XXVI, XXVII):

"Hinc post peccatum exsul (Adam) effectus, stirpem quoque suam, quam peccando in se tanquam in radice vitiaverat, poena mortis et damnationis obstrinxit; ut quidquid prolis ex illo et simul damnata, per quam peccaverat coniuge . . . nasceretur traheret originale peccatum, quo traheretur per errores doloresque diversos ad illud extremum cum desertoribus angelis vitiatoribus et possessoribus et consortibus suis sine fine supplicium. . . . Ita ergo se res habebat: iacebat in malis vel etiamolvebatur, et de malis in mala praecipitabatur totius humani generis massa damnata, et adiuncta parti eorum qui peccaverant angelorum, luebat impiae desertionis dignissimas poenas."

A last consequence of original sin — one which is implied in the preceding — is the damnation of those children who die without baptism. In the *De libero arbitrio*, III, 66, written in the years 388–395, St. Augustine had first admitted that there was for them an intermediate state that would be one neither of reward nor of punishment. But soon, considering that these children were not sinless, he concluded that they must share the common fate of mankind. Since there is no intermediate state between heaven and hell, and since they were excluded from heaven, they had to be consigned to the fire everlasting: "*Si autem non eruitur a potestate tenebrarum, et illic remanet parvulus;*

¹⁷³ *De divers. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, qu. II, 16; *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, II, 34; *De corrept. et gratia*, 28.

quid mireris in igne aeterno cum diabolo futurum qui in Dei regnum intrare non sinitur?" ¹⁷⁴

Moreover, it is well known that, according to the Saint, unbaptized children suffered in hell a positive pain, but *omnium mitissima*.¹⁷⁵ He adds that he would hesitate to say that it were better for them not to be born, since Our Lord said it only of great sinners.¹⁷⁶ However, we cannot infer that they are happy; because for a creature made after God's image, it is suffering, nay, very great suffering to be exiled from His presence.¹⁷⁷

§ 5. Grace.

How can we be saved from the abyss into which we have been thrown by the sin of Adam? In one way only, through the grace of Jesus.

Theologians study separately actual grace and habitual grace. Without leaving this latter aside altogether, St. Augustine, in his controversy with the Pelagians, spoke chiefly of the former.

First he distinguishes carefully *exterior* graces and *interior* graces, graces of mere *illumination* which teach us what we must do, and graces of *motion*, which move the will and incline it to act: "*Legant ergo et intellegant, intueantur atque fateantur non lege atque doctrina insonante forinsecus, sed interna et occulta, mirabili ac ineffabili potestate operari Deum in cordibus hominum, non solum veras revelationes, sed bonas etiam voluntates.*" ¹⁷⁸

In the second place, he distinguishes *preventing* grace, as-

¹⁷⁴ *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, III, 199; *Contra Iulian.*, VI, 3; *Sermo CCXCIV*, 2-4; *De pecc. mer. et remiss.*, I, 55.

¹⁷⁵ *De pecc. mer. et remiss.*, I, 21; *Enchiridion*, XCIII; *Contra Iulian.*, V, 44.

¹⁷⁶ *Contra Iulian.*, V, 44.

¹⁷⁷ *Contra Iulian.*, III, 9; V, 4.

¹⁷⁸ *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, I, 25, 8, 9, 13, 14; *De pecc. merit. et remiss.*, II, 26; *De spir. et litt.*, 5; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, I, 95.

sisting or coöperating grace and subsequent grace. The *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 33, is very precise on this point: the Holy Doctor marks out the progression of the spontaneous and indeliberate will or inclination to will, of the free and deliberate will, and finally of the action itself: "*Quis istam etsi parvam dare coeperat caritatem, nisi ille qui prae-parat voluntatem, et cooperando perficit quod operando incipit. Quoniam ipse ut velimus operatur incipiens, qui volentibus cooperatur perficiens. . . . Ut ergo velimus sine nobis operatur; cum autem volumus, et sic volumus ut faciamus nobiscum cooperatur: tamen sine illo vel operante ut velimus, vel cooperante cum volumus ad bona pietatis opera nihil valemus.*"¹⁷⁹

Besides, he makes another distinction which is, in one sense, still more important, *viz.*, the distinction between the grace *adiutorium sine quo non* and the grace *adiutorium quo*, in other words, between *sufficient* grace — which may become efficacious — and *efficacious* grace. This distinction is given in the course of a comparison between the state of Adam innocent and our state. Even when he was in the state of innocence, Adam could not persevere in good without grace. This grace — more joyful, as it were, and more happy, but less powerful than the grace which we receive, because it had not to overcome concupiscence — gave him the power to practise virtue and persevere in it, but it did not produce in him the actual willing and doing, which depended on his freewill; and this freewill could, at its pleasure, either correspond with divine grace or leave it useless. On the contrary, in the elect, who have no longer the liberty of doing good, in the sense already described, grace does not produce merely the power to do, it is not a mere *adiutorium sine quo non*; it produces the willing and the actual doing, it is an *adiutorium quo volumus et facimus*:

¹⁷⁹ See also *Enchiridion*, XXXII; cf. *De natura et gratia*, 35.

*"Itemque ipsa adiutoria distinguenda sunt. Aliud est adiutorium sine quo aliquid non fit, et aliud est adiutorium quo aliquid fit. . . . Primo itaque homini . . . datum est adiutorium perseverantiae non quo fieret ut perseveraret, sed sine quo per liberum arbitrium perseverare non posset. Nunc vero sanctis in regnum Dei per gratiam Dei praedestinati non tale adiutorium perseverantiae datur, sed tale ut eis perseverantia ipsa donetur."*¹⁸⁰

As we have seen, even in the state of innocence, Adam needed the help of grace in order to persevere.¹⁸¹ With still more reason do we absolutely need this grace. We need it as a *medicinal* grace, for, as has been said above, without it we can only sin: "*Nam neque liberum arbitrium quidquam nisi ad peccandum valet, si lateat veritatis via: et cum id quod agendum et quo nitendum est coeperit non latere, nisi etiam delectet et ametur, non agitur, non suscipitur, non bene vivitur. Ut autem diligatur charitas Dei diffunditur in cordibus nostris.*"¹⁸² We need it also that we may believe the truths of the supernatural order: "*Quod ergo pertinet ad religionem et pietatem (de qua loquebatur Apostolus) si non sumus idonei cogitare aliquid quasi ex nobismetipsis, sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est, profecto non sumus idonei credere aliquid quasi ex nobismetipsis, quod sine cogitatione non possumus, sed sufficientia nostra qua credere incipiamus ex Deo est.*"¹⁸³ Besides, we need it, of course, that we may be enabled to perform supernatural acts; we need it, too, both as a grace of exterior light and as an interior grace. The following text may suffice, as a sample of many others: "*Quapropter ut in Deum credamus et pie vivamus non volentis neque currentis sed miserentis est Dei; non quia velle non debe-*

¹⁸⁰ *De corrept. et gratia*, 34, 29, 30 and especially 32.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *Enchiridion*, CVI; *Epist.* CLXXXVI, 37.

¹⁸² *De spir. et litt.*, 5; *Contra Julian. op. imp.*, III, 110.

¹⁸³ *De praedest. sanctor.*, 5, 7, 22.

mus et currere, sed quia ipse in nobis et velle operatur et currere." ¹⁸⁴ Again, we need it as *preventing* grace and as *assisting* grace: "*Quia neque velle possumus nisi vocemur: et cum post vocationem voluerimus, non sufficit voluntas nostra et cursus noster nisi Deus et vires currentibus praebeat, et perducatur quo vocet.*" ¹⁸⁵ We need it for the beginning of our good works: "*Cum ergo divinitus adiuvatur homo, non tantum ad capessendam perfectionem, quod ipse posuisti, utique volens intellegi eum per se incipere sine gratia quod perficit gratia: sed potius quod Apostolus loquitur, ut qui in nobis opus bonum coepit, perficiat usque in finem;*" ¹⁸⁶ and also as we saw above, for the *beginning of faith*.¹⁸⁷ The *just* need it *that they may persevere*: "*cum . . . sine Dei gratia, salutem non possit (natura humana) custodire quam accepit.*" ¹⁸⁸ We need it, finally, for every one of our good actions: "*Ad singulos actus (gratia) datur illius voluntate de quo scriptum est: Pluviam voluntariam segregabis, Deus, haereditati tuae, quia et liberum arbitrium ad diligendum Deum primi peccati granditate perdidimus.*" ¹⁸⁹

Once more, let us observe that St. Augustine proclaims the necessity of grace, even for the fulfilment of the duties of the natural law, since freewill left to itself can only sin.¹⁹⁰ But here a question presents itself. Is the grace thus required in order that our acts may be morally good,

¹⁸⁴ *Epist. CCXVII, 12; De spirit. et litt., 4, 5.*

¹⁸⁵ *De praedest. sanct., 7; De gratia et lib. arbitr., 33; Enchiridion, XXXII.*

¹⁸⁶ *Contra Iulian., IV, 15; De natura et gratia, 35, 36.*

¹⁸⁷ *De praedestin. sanctor., 4, 5, 10.*

¹⁸⁸ *Epist. CLXXXVI, 37; CCXVII, 14; De corrept. et gratia, 34; De natura et gratia, 29.*

¹⁸⁹ *Epist. CCXVII, 12.*

¹⁹⁰ However he extenuates somewhat this view in the *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, II, 3, where he seems to admit a moral necessity, a necessity of fact, rather than one of principle. See also *De spiritu et littera*, 48.

a grace of charity, or at least a grace of faith, or is it a grace of a lower order, which neither presupposes nor imparts charity or faith, and inclines the recipient merely to the act of virtue which he must immediately fulfill? In other words — and to put the problem as it was put later on — what does St. Augustine think of the moral value of acts performed without charity and in the state of sin, or performed by infidels and uninfluenced by faith? Does he think that at least some of those acts can be good, or does he look upon them all as necessarily evil? ¹⁹¹

We shall not dwell on the first point of this question. There are, indeed, found in the writings of the Holy Doctor a certain number of passages, in which he seems to suppose that works done through a motive of charity or at least in the state of charity are the only ones that are good. For instance, the following passage of the *De spiritu et littera*, 26: “*Non enim fructus est bonus qui de charitatis radice non surgit*,” or again the *De civitate Dei*, XXVI, 16, the *Contra Iulianum*, IV, 33; V, 9. But, besides the fact that, in these and other like passages, the Saint often refers not to acts that are merely good, but to acts that are supernaturally meritorious, we must observe that at times he does not use the word “charity” in the precise meaning of perfect charity. Often he designates by this word generally every aspiration towards good, in contrast with the love of lower things, concupiscence. Charity and concupiscence are the two loves that have created the two cities; ¹⁹² this is why the Bishop of Hippo says to those who cannot attain to the perfect love of justice: “*Nondum potes amare*

¹⁹¹ Our readers recall, no doubt, what was taught on this point by Baius, Jansenius and Quesnel, and know that they claimed to have borrowed it from St. Augustine. See DENZINGER, *Enchiridion*, 915, 918, 1165, 1241, 1242 (new edit., 1035, 1038, 1298, 1376, 1377).

¹⁹² *De civit. Dei*, XIV, 28.

iustitiam? Time vel poenam, ut pervenias ad amandam iustitiam."¹⁹³

St. Augustine, then, did not believe that the state of charity — in the theological sense — was required for the moral and even for the supernatural goodness of our actions. Did he think the same of faith, and believe that the heathen, while remaining heathen, could perform, at least under the influence of grace, actions of natural virtue, actions that were not sins?

There are found in his works some very explicitly affirmative answers to this question. Thus, God touched the heart of Assuerus and moved him to clemency:¹⁹⁴ yet Assuerus was and remained a heathen. So also, the temperance of the pagan Polemon was the work of God and of His grace.¹⁹⁵ In the *De spiritu et littera*, 48, the Saint supposes evidently that pagans can perform some good actions, though rather few (*vix inveniuntur quae iustitiae debitam laudem defensionemque mereantur*), and even, it seems, without the help of any grace at all, because the divine likeness is not altogether obliterated in them. But on many other occasions, chiefly when he is carried away by his controversy with Julian, St. Augustine goes beyond the boundaries which he has set for himself, and, as he admits no middle state between heaven and hell, he admits likewise no middle act between the evil act, sin, and the Christian act, that accomplished in faith. He condemns all the deeds of pagans as sins.¹⁹⁶ Basing his argument on the text of St. Paul, *Rom. XIV, 23: Omne autem quod non est ex fide peccatum est*, and taking the word *fides* in

¹⁹³ *In Ioann.* tract. XLI, 10.

¹⁹⁴ *De gratia Christi et de pecc. orig.*, I, 25.

¹⁹⁵ *Epist.* CXLIV, 2.

¹⁹⁶ Schwane himself is obliged to confess it, *Histoire des dogmes*, transl. DEGERT, III, 175, 176.

the sense of faith strictly so called, he writes: "Sine ipsa (fide) vero etiam quae videntur bona opera in peccata vertuntur; *omne enim quod non est ex fide peccatum est;*"¹⁹⁷ and again: "Quid enim est boni operis ante fidem, cum dicat apostolus: *Omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est.*"¹⁹⁸ Thus even the acts of those natural virtues which the heathen seem to practise, such as meekness, justice, filial piety, charity, patience, are sins because of the want of faith.¹⁹⁹ They overcome some sins by other sins: "*aliis peccatis alia peccata vincuntur.*"²⁰⁰ Not indeed that these acts are always bad in themselves and in their object; but they become so through want of proper intention, because the pagans who perform these acts dwell on them and find their pleasure in them,²⁰¹ and because, lacking faith, these same pagans do not refer these acts to the end to which they ought to be referred: "*Si fidem non habent Christi, profecto nec iusti sunt, nec Deo placent, cui sine fide placere impossibile est. Sed ad hoc eos in die iudicii cogitationes suae defendent, ut tolerabilius puniantur, quia naturaliter quae legis sunt utcumque fecerunt . . . hoc tamen peccantes quod homines sine fide non ad eum finem retulerunt ad quem referre debuerunt. Minus enim Fabricius quam Catilina punietur, non quia iste bonus, sed quia ille magis malus.*"²⁰² Besides, when Julian claims to place between meritorious works and evil works, works that are "barrenly good," *i. e.*, are neither sins nor actions that God ought to reward,²⁰³ St. Augustine absolutely sets aside this

¹⁹⁷ *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, III, 14.

¹⁹⁸ *In Ioann. tract.* LXXXVI.

¹⁹⁹ *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, III, 14.

²⁰⁰ *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 4.

²⁰¹ *De civit. Dei*, XIX, 15; *Contra Iulian.*, IV, 21.

²⁰² *Contra Iulian.*, IV, 25, 31, 32.

²⁰³ "Ego steriliter bonos dixi homines qui non propter Deum faciendo bona quae faciunt non ab eo vitam consequuntur aeternam" (*Contra Iulian.*, IV, 33).

distinction: "*Iustus ergo Deus et bonus bonos est in mortem missurus aeternam? . . . Ergo intellege quod ait Dominus: Si oculus tuus nequam est, totum corpus tuum tenebrosus erit; si autem oculus tuus simplex est, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit: et hunc oculum agnosce intentionem qua facit quisque quod facit; et per hoc disce eum, qui non facit opera bona intentione fidei bonae, hoc est eius quae per dilectionem operatur, totum quasi corpus, quod illis, velut membris, operibus constat, tenebrosus esse, hoc est plenum nigredine peccatorum;*"²⁰⁴ again: "*Nullo modo igitur homines sunt steriliter boni, sed qui boni non sunt possunt esse alii minus, alii magis mali.*"²⁰⁵ It is evident that in these texts St. Augustine exaggerates the necessity of referring all our acts to God as to the supernatural end known to us through faith.

Whoever says "grace," designates a gift and something that is not due to merit. Hence the Bishop of Hippo repeats over and again that the *first graces* are granted through pure mercy. He had not always held this view, as he himself declares in the *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, 7, and as we can see from the *De diversis quaestionibus* LXXXIII, question LXVIII, 4, 5, where he supposes in some sinners hidden merits which procure for them justification, and where he makes antecedent goodwill the condition of the divine mercy.²⁰⁶ But in the year 396-397, at the latest, he gave up this error, after a closer study of the *Epistle to the Romans*, IX, 10-29, in the *Diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, I, qu. II. There he affirmed that, if grace were the reward of works, it would not be grace; that, far from following good works, it precedes them; that we could not merit grace through our

²⁰⁴ *Contra Iulian.*, IV, 33.

²⁰⁵ *Contra Iulian.*, IV, 22.

²⁰⁶ See also *De libero arbitrio*, III, 55, and *Expositio quarumd. proposit. ex epist. ad Romanos*, 61.

works, since these works cannot be performed except through grace (*ibid.*, 2, 10, 12). This he never ceased to teach till his death: "*Sic enim volunt (pelagiani) intellegi quod dictum est Si volueritis et audieritis me tanquam in ipsa praecedente voluntate sit consequentis meritum gratiae, ac sic gratia iam non sit gratia quae non est gratuita, cum redditur debita.*"²⁰⁷

As to *secondary* graces, *e. g.*, the grace of acting well after believing, the Saint thinks it can be merited at least in a certain way: "*Si quis autem dixerit quod gratiam bene operandi fides meretur, negare non possumus, imo vero gratissime confitemur.*" But he remarks that even this is obtained rather through prayer.²⁰⁸ But he looks upon the grace of *final perseverance* as a purely gratuitous gift, likening it to the first graces of faith: "*asserimus ergo donum Dei esse perseverantiam qua usque in finem perseveratur in Christo.*"²⁰⁹ All that we can do is to beg for it and obtain it through prayer: "*Hoc ergo donum suppliciter emereri potest. . . . A quo enim nisi ab illo accipimus a quo iussum est ut petamus. . . . Orat (Ecclesia) ut credentes perseverent: Deus ergo donat perseverantiam usque in finem.*"²¹⁰

How does this grace which God gives us gratuitously, act in us? As is well known, this is one of the points of St. Augustine's teaching that have given rise to most discussion. According to Jansenists and Protestants, the Holy Doctor deemed grace an irresistible power, which creates in us the will to do good and whose action we cannot escape. He admitted no merely sufficient grace, one that

²⁰⁷ *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, IV, 12, 13, 14; *De gratia Chr. et de pecc. orig.*, I, 34; *De praedest. sanct.*, 7, 12.

²⁰⁸ *Epist.* CLXXXVI, 7; *De gestis Pelagii*, 34; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, IV, 10.

²⁰⁹ *De dono perseverantiae*, I, 2, 4-9, 13.

²¹⁰ *De dono perseverantiae*, 10, 15.

would leave us free to follow it. Every grace is either efficacious or insufficient. Man, who is attracted contrariwise by two delectations — the delectation of concupiscence and that of grace — goes necessarily to the side of the stronger delectation, the one that is victorious. He has nothing to do with his determinations and choice.

Is there any truth in this presentation of St. Augustine's doctrine? Did he truly look upon the will, under the influence of grace, as altogether passive? Did he deem it unable to resist and reject divine grace, or to coöperate freely with it?

It is true that in many passages the Bishop of Hippo affirms again and again that God works in us to will and to do, and that His grace gives us both to know the law and to keep it: "*Simul donans Deus et quid agant scire et quod sciunt agere.*"²¹¹ We cannot infer from this, however, that he denies all activity of the soul under the influence of grace and all coöperation on the part of man. The first good thought, as well as the first good inclination, is indeed a spontaneous though vital motion; but this first motion is succeeded by another, which is deliberate and free. Now, St. Augustine looks upon this second motion, not as *parallel to the action of grace* — which, as a matter of fact, is not — but rather as accomplished *together with grace*, with its energy and help, divine grace and human will forming but one immediate agent. The texts of the *De Diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, I, qu. II, are well known: "*Nemo itaque credit non vocatus, sed non omnis credit vocatus. Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi: utique ii qui vocantem non contempserunt, sed credendo secuti sunt: volentes autem sine dubio crediderunt. . . . Noluit Esau et non cucurrit*" (10, cf. 13). "*Ipsum velle credere Deus operatur in homine, et in omnibus mise-*

²¹¹ *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali*, I, 14; *De corrept. et gr.*, 31, 32; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, I, 37, 38; *Enchiridion*, XXXII.

ricordia eius praevenit nos: consentire autem vocationi Dei vel ab ea dissentire, sicut dixi, propriae voluntatis est. . . . Accipere quippe et habere anima non potest bona de quibus hoc audit nisi consentiendo." ²¹² "*Aguntur enim (homines) ut agant, non ut ipsi nihil agant.*" ²¹³

The will of man, then, concurs really and actively, according to St. Augustine, in the good which it performs under the influence of grace. But does it concur in that good *freely*? Does it remain free under the influence of grace? In this question, we must distinguish two elements: the fact and the "how" of the fact. Dogma is concerned, and the Saint also was concerned, with the fact only. On the other hand, the solution of the problem can be presented in various ways. We are not free under the influence of grace, if we cannot resist that influence and if we are necessarily carried away by the stronger delectation, earthly or heavenly; on the other hand, we are free, if there are graces that are merely, though truly, sufficient; if the efficacy of grace comes, not from its intrinsic nature, but from the fact that God has foreseen this efficacy; if there is for us only a moral necessity to follow the stronger attraction; if we can merit, etc.

Now it must be granted that, on all these various points, the writings of St. Augustine present at times real obscurities and texts difficult to explain, or at other times many reserved and timid affirmations which are surprising, when contrasted with other passages that are very plain and explicit. These obscurities come first from a lack of sequence in the language of the Saint: thus, without any warning, he passes from the *libertas a necessitate* to the *libertas a servitute peccati*, and from necessity, *i. e.*, lack of interior freedom, to the slavery of sin, a consequence of original

²¹² *De spir. et litt.*, 60.

²¹³ *De corrept. et gr.*, 4, 31; see also *De gratia et libero arbitr.*, 9, 31; *Enchiridion*, XXXII; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, I, 36.

sin. They arise also, especially in the treatise *De correptione et gratia*, from the fact that the grace referred to in this work is that of the predestined, a grace which always and infallibly attains its end, while respecting the freedom of those who receive it. Finally and chiefly, they come from the constant effort of the Bishop of Hippo to grant to the Pelagians nothing which they might misuse. Because, in speaking of freewill, they mean freewill without grace, St. Augustine emphasizes the part of grace and throws into the background that of freewill. The truth of this last remark will not fail to strike any one who compares the writings against the Pelagians with those against the Manicheans. In the latter, freewill is strongly emphasized, precisely because it was denied by the opponents.

I shall merely mention the chief texts to which some have appealed in order to prove that St. Augustine refused to acknowledge in man any freedom at all, under the action of efficacious grace. Several of these texts are taken from the *De correptione et gratia*, in which he declares that God's will and grace obtain always their effect and lead the human will just as they please (38, 43, 45).²¹⁴ Another text is found in the *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali*, I, 14, where he identifies a free act with an act done willingly: "*Praeceptum quippe liber facit qui libens facit.*"²¹⁵ Other texts are those in which the Saint represents grace as a heavenly delectation, opposed to the earthly delectation, *i. e.*, to concupiscence, and declares that we follow necessarily that one of the two which draws us the more strongly and which he calls victorious: "*Quod enim amplius nos delectat, secundum id operemur necesse est.*"²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Cf. *De praedest. sanctor.*, 14.

²¹⁵ St. Augustine makes use of that idea for the purpose of answering Julian (*Contra Julian. op. imp.*, V, 61; *De natura et gratia*, 54).

²¹⁶ *Expositio epist. ad Galatas*, 49; *De spiritu et litt.*, 6; *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, II, 26, 32.

On the other hand, it is easy to present many categorical assertions in contrast to these texts, whose obscurity, as has been said, can be explained. St. Augustine, who had maintained the existence of freewill against the Manicheans,²¹⁷ maintains it also when dealing with the Pelagians. He complains of the fact that, just as there are some who, in order to affirm freewill, deny grace, so there are others who, while affirming grace, deny freewill,²¹⁸ and for the purpose of clearing up these questions, he writes the *De gratia et libero arbitrio* whose entire introduction (2-5) proves the existence of freewill both in good and in bad actions: "*Nemo ergo Deum causetur in corde suo, sed sibimet imputet quisque, cum peccat. Neque cum aliquid secundum Deum operatur, alienet hoc a propria voluntate*" (4). In the *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, III, 3, he admits the truth of the Pelagian objection: "*Si nolumus, non peccamus, nec praeciperet Deus homini quod esset humanae impossibile voluntati;*" but he observes that, if we sin, it is because we do not set in exercise all the energies of our will as we must sometimes do. In the same treatise, I, 26, he writes: "*Cum voluntatem humanam gratia adiuvante divina, sine peccato in hac vita possit homo esse, cur non sit possem facillime ac veracissime respondere quia homines nolunt: sed si ex me quaeritur quare nolunt, imus in longum.*" In the *De spiritu et littera*, 58, our author also plainly states that pagans can resist the grace of the call to the faith, because in calling them, God respects their freewill. Hence it is willingly and freely that those who believe answer the divine call, and that those who do not answer it, reject it.²¹⁹ But why this different way of acting? Perhaps, St. Augustine says, because some have been called by a grace that was in harmony (*congruenter*)

²¹⁷ *De libero arbitrio*, III, 56; *De duabus animabus*, 19.

²¹⁸ *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, I; *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, II, 28.

²¹⁹ *De diversis quaest. ad Simplic.*, I, qu. II, 10.

with their actual dispositions; and the others have not. This is the "congruous" grace, efficacious not by itself, but as a consequence of the divine foreknowledge: "*Illi enim electi quia congruenter vocati: illi autem qui non congruebant neque contemperabantur vocationi, non electi, quia non secuti, quamvis vocati.*"²²⁰ Lastly, in the *De natura et gratia*, 78, St. Augustine approves fully the words of St. Jerome: "*Liberi arbitrii nos condidit Deus, nec ad virtutem, nec ad vitia necessitate trahimur, alioquin ubi necessitas nec corona est,*" to which, however, he adds: "*sed in recte faciendo ideo nullum est vinculum necessitatis quia libertas est charitatis.*"

In the powerful action of grace, spoken of by the Bishop of Hippo, we must, then, infer nothing but attractive forces which can be resisted. Evidently his theory — if he had any theory at all — would be more like the theory of grace efficacious in itself, than to the Molinist theory; but he would make this efficacy of grace consist in the power of moral attraction rather than in the power of physical pre-motion. On the whole the so-called *Augustinian* system has not misrepresented his views.

A last argument that would prove — even supposing the previous arguments did not suffice — St. Augustine's belief in the persistency of human liberty under the action of efficacious grace, is his teaching on the subject of merit; for he himself states explicitly that without liberty there can be no merit: "*Quando enim volens facit (homo), tunc dicendum est opus bonum, tunc speranda est boni operis merces ab eo de quo dictum est Qui reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.*"²²¹ Now, as has been seen already, we cannot merit the first graces; but, once we have faith, we can merit, in a certain way, the grace to do well and

²²⁰ *De div. quaest. ad Simplic.*, I, qu. II, 13.

²²¹ *De gratia et lib. arbitrio*, 4.

justification: "*Nec ipsa remissio peccatorum sine aliquo merito est si fides hanc impetrat: neque enim nullum est meritum fidei.*"²²² We cannot, indeed, merit final perseverance; we can only obtain it through our prayers. Glory is, however, properly speaking, that which is merited by the state of justice here below: "*Plane minor ista iustitia quae facit meritum; maior illa fit praemium.*"²²³ "*Post hanc autem vitam merces perficiens redditur, sed eis tantum a quibus in hac vita eiusdem mercedis meritum comparatur.*"²²⁴ And still, even though it is a reward, glory is also a grace, since our merits themselves are the fruit of grace, and, in a sense, gifts of God: "*Unde et ipsam vitam aeternam, quae certe merces est operum bonorum, gratiam Dei appellat Apostolus. . . . Intellegendum est igitur ipsa hominis bona merita esse Dei munera; quibus cum vita aeterna redditur, quid nisi gratia pro gratia redditur?*"²²⁵

As has just been said, merit properly so termed, supposes in man the state of justice,²²⁶ what we call the state of grace and sanctifying grace. St. Augustine several times accused the Pelagians of making justification consist exclusively in the forgiveness of sins;²²⁷ yet, Julian of Eclanum held that the baptism of children produced in them a new life.²²⁸ At all events, the Bishop of Hippo insisted on the interior renewal of which that justification was the principle: "*Non enim advertunt eo quosque fieri filios Dei quo esse incipiunt in novitate spiritus et renovari in interio-*

²²² *Epist.* CXCIV, 9; CLXXXVI, 10.

²²³ *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, III, 23.

²²⁴ *De perfect. iustit. hominis*, 17; *De spiritu et litt.*, 48; *Epist.* CCXIV.

²²⁵ *Enchiridion*, CVII; *Epist.* CXCIV, 19.

²²⁶ See also *Epist.* CLXXXVI, 7.

²²⁷ *De gratia et lib. arbitrio*, 27; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, II, 16, 227;

VI, 15.

²²⁸ See above, p. 438.

rem hominem secundum imaginem eius qui creavit eos."²²⁹ Through it we become children of God, like unto our Father. We are also clothed with the new man and with the life of Jesus. We live by the life of God and share in His justice, which Jesus imparts to us.²³⁰ Moreover that justice may grow day by day, till it becomes perfect in glory: "*Ipsa iustitia, cum proficimus, crescit . . . et unusquisque vestrum iam in ipsa iustificatione constitutus . . . proficiens de die in diem . . . proficiat et crescat donec consummetur.*"²³¹

§ 6. Predestination.²³²

The doctrine of predestination crowns that of grace. Predestination is the act by which God decrees that He will give to a certain number of men graces in this life, or glory in the next. Theologians generally distinguish two kinds of predestination: first, predestination to glory, which necessarily implies predestination to grace; secondly, predestination to grace only or to faith, which does not necessarily imply predestination to glory.

On one occasion St. Augustine had apparently taught that the predestination to grace and to faith depended on the fidelity to the divine call foreseen by God, or rather, to speak with more precision, that Our Lord preached in certain places, at certain times, because He foresaw that there and then certain souls would receive His word.²³³ His

²²⁹ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, II, 9.

²³⁰ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, I, 10, 11; II, 10; *Contra Faustum manich.*, III, 3; *Contra Adimant. manich.*, V, 2; *In Ioan. tract.* XIX, 11.

²³¹ *Sermo* CLVIII, 5.

²³² At the beginning of this section, I feel it is almost a duty to urge those who are unfamiliar with the questions with which we are dealing, to study them in the work of some sound theologian. I cannot give here all the explanations which would be useful or even necessary.

²³³ *Epist.* CII, 14, 15; *De prædest. sanctor.*, 17. Several passages of the propositions 60 and 62 of his *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epist. ad Romanos*, were also brought forward against him. Cf. *Epist.* CCXXVI, 3.

Semi-Pelagian opponents reminded him later on of this passage which favored their views. The Bishop of Hippo justified himself by saying that in the passage objected to, which had been written for pagans, he had not intended to treat the question *ex professo*; moreover that in writing the book, he had mentally abstracted from the secret choice of God, and other causes distinct from the foreseen faith of the hearers, as causes accounting for the divine call; and that these foreseen merits, of which he had spoken, themselves implied a previous grace which had been given gratuitously.²³⁴ To conclude, therefore, that the call to faith was not gratuitous, was unjustified. On the contrary, that call was absolutely gratuitous, as can be proved by the words of Our Lord concerning Tyre and Sidon (*Matt.*, XI, 21): "*Non enim quia credidimus, sed ut credamus elegit nos: ne priores eum elegisse dicamur. . . . Nec quia credidimus sed ut credamus vocamur.*"²³⁵ As regards the call to grace: "*Elegit ergo nos Deus in adoptionem filiorum, non quia per nos sancti et immaculati futuri eramus, sed elegit praeordinavitque ut essemus. Fecit autem hoc secundum placitum voluntatis suae ut nemo de sua, sed de illius ergo se voluntate gloriatur.*"²³⁶

St. Augustine was, however, concerned far more with predestination to glory than with predestination to faith and to grace, and he treated of the latter chiefly in so far as it is included in the former. He devoted to this subject principally the three treatises *De correptione et gratia*; *De praedestinatione sanctorum* and *De dono perseverantiae*, all of which were written at the end of his life.

Predestination was and could be for the Pelagians

²³⁴ *De praedest. sanctor.*, 18, 19; *Retract.*, II, 31; *De dono persever.*, 23.

²³⁵ *De praedest. sanctor.*, 38; *De dono persever.*, 23, 25; *Contra Iulian.*, V, 13; *Epist.* CLXXXVI, 4-6.

²³⁶ *De praedest. sanctor.*, 37.

nothing but an act of the will that was consequent, and necessarily consequent, upon an act of foreknowledge. Foreseeing what every man would be in the moral order through the use of his freewill, God determined beforehand his ultimate destiny.²³⁷ In the Semi-Pelagian system, of which we shall speak later and of which St. Augustine saw the earliest manifestations, only the beginning of faith depended on man; his works and perseverance were, properly speaking, the object of a divine decree predestining the just to sanctity and therefore to glory.²³⁸ St. Augustine does not thus understand predestination.

Before all, God chooses His elect and predestines them to heaven: "*Elegit Deus in Christo ante constitutionem mundi membra eius: et quomodo eligeret eos qui nondum erant nisi prædestinando? Elegit ergo prædestinans eos.*"²³⁹

This choice, this predestination on the part of God is always effective: the certainty of salvation is bound up with predestination. The one who is predestined may not belong for a time to the Church or to her visible body; he may even for a time wander from the true way: God will bring him back at the right moment: "*Ex his nullus perit, quia omnes electi sunt. . . . Horum si quisquam perit fallitur Deus; sed nemo eorum perit quia non fallitur Deus.*"²⁴⁰

For the act of predestination implies the conferring of all the means that must lead one to glory. The Bishop of Hippo has drawn up a list of them, according to St. Paul: "*Quos enim prædestinavit ipsos et vocavit, illa scilicet vocatione secundum propositum: non ergo alios, sed quos prædestinavit ipsos et vocavit; nec alios, sed quos ita vocavit*

²³⁷ *De prædest. sanctor.*, 36.

²³⁸ *De prædest. sanctor.*, 38.

²³⁹ *De prædest. sanctor.*, 35.

²⁴⁰ *De corrept. et gr.*, 14, 23, 24; *De dono persever.*, 35; *De prædest. sanctor.*, 17-19; *Epist. CII*, 12, 14, 15.

ipsos et iustificavit: nec alios, sed quos praedestinavit, vocavit, iustificavit ipsos et glorificavit (Rom. VIII, 30). . . . *Eligendo ergo fecit divites in fide sicut haeredes regni.*"²⁴¹ Thus the predestined are the first called to faith through a *propria vocatio*, they are called *secundum propositum*, i. e., in an efficacious way;²⁴² next, they are justified by means of graces that are also efficacious, so as to be "*sancti et immaculati in conspectu eius (Dei)*";²⁴³ then, they are favored with final perseverance in order that they may not fail in the practice of good, or at least that their failings may be repaired at the hour of death;²⁴⁴ finally, they are crowned and glorified in heaven.

The very way in which St. Augustine sets forth these introductory ideas on the subject of predestination leads us naturally to believe that he believed in an absolute and gratuitous predestination to glory, and that, according to the theological expression, *ante praevisa merita*. When choosing His elect, God considered only His own will; and only, consequently upon that choice, did He provide His elect — at least the adults — with the graces necessary effectively to deserve through their works the glory which He has in store for them. Several authors, however (Franzelin, Fessler-Jungmann),²⁴⁵ are unwilling to grant that the Bishop of Hippo had on this point any definite system, and that he treated the question of predestination *ante* or *post praevisa merita*, a question not of practical consequence in the Pelagian controversy. This is not the view of Petau. Even though he does not share personally St. Augustine's opinion,²⁴⁶ the learned Jesuit has accumulated many argu-

²⁴¹ *De praedest. sanctor.*, 34.

²⁴² *De praedest. sanct.*, 37; cf. *De dono persever.*, 21.

²⁴³ *De praedest. sanct.*, 36.

²⁴⁴ *De corrept. et gr.*, 16, 21, 22; *De dono persever.*, 19.

²⁴⁵ FRANZELIN, *De Deo uno*, th. LXII, LXIII; FESSLER-JUNGMAN, *Institutiones patrologiae*, II, 1, p. 348, 349.

²⁴⁶ *De Deo*, lib. X, cap. 1 et seq.

ments to show that our author really upheld absolute predestination, *ante praevisa merita*,²⁴⁷ and as a matter of fact, this judgment of Petau seems to be more in harmony with the texts and with the concept which, following St. Paul, St. Augustine had of God's supreme dominion and of the complete independence of His decisions.

For St. Augustine rejects not only the Pelagian error which presented predestination as consequent upon the foreknowledge of purely human merits; he rejects also that Semi-Pelagian theory which made the fate of children who die before the use of reason, *i. e.*, their being baptized or their not being baptized, depend on the foreknowledge of the good or of the evil they would have done, had they lived. According to the Bishop of Hippo, this is an idea which cannot be plausibly maintained. Children, and men in general, will be judged, not according to their hypothetical conduct, in an order of things which has never existed in fact, but according to their real conduct. Now, those children who die in infancy have done neither good nor evil. Hence it is evident, at least as far as they are concerned, that those among them who are predestined have been predestined independently of any foreknowledge of merit. They have been predestined *ante praevisa merita*: "*In eo ergo quod aliis eam (gratiam baptismatis) dat, aliis non dat, cur nolunt cantare Domino misericordiam et iudicium? Cur autem illis potius quam illis detur, Quis cognovit sensum Domini? Quis inscrutabilia scrutari valeat? Quis investigabilia vestigare?*"²⁴⁸

Is this also the case with adults? Certainly: St. Augustine insists on the similarity which exists, in this respect, between adults and children. The "why" of their predestination is a mystery; all that we know is that God is not

²⁴⁷ *De Deo*, lib. IX, cap. 6-15.

²⁴⁸ *De dono persever.*, 27, 23, 31; *De praedest. sanct.*, 24-29; *Epist.* CLXXXVI, 11.

unjust.²⁴⁹ Besides, predestination is not the effect of grace conferred, but, on the contrary, its preparation: “*Haec est praedestinatio sanctorum, nihil aliud: praescientia scilicet et praeparatio beneficiorum Dei quibus certissime liberantur quicumque liberantur.*”²⁵⁰ Hence, taking two adults both called and both pious, if one perseveres, and the other does not, it is — independently of their will which remains always free — because the former is predestined, the latter is not.²⁵¹ If the grace of vocation is refused to some, if “congruous” graces (“*congrua suis mentibus vel audiant verba, vel signa conspiciant*”) are not given to some who would have profited by them, it is — always with the same restriction — because they have been left in the mass of perdition from which others have been rescued;²⁵² and these have been drawn thence “*per electionem, ut dictum est, gratiae, non praecedentium meritorum suorum, quia gratia illis est omne meritum.*”²⁵³ Divine mercy alone is the principle of their salvation: “*Quid nos hic docuit nisi ex illa massa primi hominis cui merito mors debetur, non ad merita hominum sed ad Dei misericordiam pertinere quod quisque liberatur.*”²⁵⁴ In a word, like the householder, God, merely as an effect of His will, gives to some what he does not owe them, and denies it to others: He is accountable to no one.²⁵⁵

St. Augustine's views, then, considered as a whole, direct us towards the doctrine of predestination to glory *ante praevisa merita*. Were it question of the full predestination to efficacious grace, final perseverance and glory, and not of

²⁴⁹ *Contra Iulian.*, IV, 45; *De dono persever.*, 25.

²⁵⁰ *De dono persever.*, 35.

²⁵¹ *De dono persever.*, 21.

²⁵² *De dono persever.*, 35.

²⁵³ *De corrept. et grat.*, 13.

²⁵⁴ *Epist.* CLXXXVI, 16.

²⁵⁵ *De dono persever.*, 17.

predestination to glory alone, there would be no room for doubt: the Bishop of Hippo insists again and again upon its absolute gratuitousness.²⁵⁶

Not all men, however, are of the number of the predestined; this number is settled beforehand and forever by the divine prescience and power "*ut ne addatur eis quisquam, nec minuatur ex eis.*"²⁵⁷ How great is this number? St. Augustine has suggested that it was at least equal to the number of the fallen angels, and he adds that it may be even greater; but we know nothing about the number of the fallen angels.²⁵⁸ At all events, the elect will be few, compared with the lost: "*Quod ergo pauci in comparatione pereuntium, in suo vero numero multi liberantur, gratia fit, gratis fit.*"²⁵⁹ In fact, all should have been condemned, on account of original sin, and this is why God saves only a comparatively small portion of mankind.²⁶⁰

But, then, does God will to save all men, and how can He will it, since all are not predestined? Our readers know how the theologians of to-day answer this question. By an *antecedent* will, God wills the salvation of all, and for this purpose gives to all sufficient graces. Unfortunately, many do not profit by these graces, and as a *consequence*, God does not will their salvation, but their punishment. As regards children who die before the age of reason, the explanation is more complex; most theologians, however, agree upon the fact just stated.

What is St. Augustine's view on this point?

His thought is at times quite obscure and has for this reason given rise to controversies.²⁶¹ In the first place, he

²⁵⁶ *Enchiridion*, XCVIII, XCIX; *Epist.* CLXXXVI, 15; *De dono persever.*, 17, 25.

²⁵⁷ *De corrept. et gratia*, 39, 42; *Epist.* CLXXXVI, 25.

²⁵⁸ *Enchiridion*, XXIX; *De civit. Dei*, XXII, 1, 2.

²⁵⁹ *De corrept. et gr.*, 28, 21; *Epist.* CXC, 12.

²⁶⁰ *De civit. Dei*, XXI, 12.

²⁶¹ See PETAU, *De incarnatione*, lib. XIII, cap. 3, 4.

does not make explicitly the distinctions which have been pointed out; then, arguing against the Pelagians who, in reality, admitted in God no special will that predestined the elect, he strives to show that there is really in God, as regards the predestined, a will which He has not as regards the reprobate. So the *absolute* and *consequent* will is strongly insisted on; the *antecedent* will is rather thrown into the background. It is especially in interpreting the text of I *Tim.* II, 4, made use of by his opponents, that the Saint shows this tendency: *Qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire.* Sometimes the Bishop of Hippo explains it in the same sense as *Omnes in Christo vivificabuntur, i. e.,* just as all those who are to be vivified will be vivified only through Christ, so also all those who are to be saved, will be saved only through the will of God.²⁶² At other times, he interprets the *omnes* as denoting the various classes of men — princes, magistrates, workmen, etc., God excluding no one from salvation simply on account of his condition.²⁶³ At others, again, he makes the word *omnes* synonymous with *multi*.²⁶⁴ Or he explains the word *vult* in the sense that God produces in the predestined the will to be saved, somewhat as the Holy Ghost is said to cry out in us *Abba, Pater*, because He makes us give utterance to this filial sentiment.²⁶⁵ In all these interpretations, St. Augustine tries evidently to avoid the natural and obvious meaning of the text.²⁶⁶

Does this mean, then, that he really denies the divine will to save all? No, for he implies this will in many passages, especially when he affirms that Jesus died for all and offers to all sufficient graces. Petau quotes in this sense, and we may quote after him, *De catechisandis rudibus*, 52; *Epistula*

²⁶² *Epist.* CCXVII, 19; *Enchiridion*, CIII.

²⁶³ *Enchiridion*, CIII.

²⁶⁴ *Contra Julian.*, IV, 44.

²⁶⁵ *De corrept. et grat.*, 47.

²⁶⁶ See also *Epist.* CCXVII, 19.

CLXXXV, 49; *Enarratio in psalmum LXVIII, sermo II, 11*; *Retractationes, I, 10, 2*; *Contra Iulianum, VI, 8*; *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum, II, 174, 175*. The classical text, however, is in the *De spiritu et littera*, 58: "*Vult autem Deus omnes homines salvos fieri et in agnitionem veritatis venire, non sic tamen ut eis adimat liberum arbitrium quo vel bene vel male utentes iustissime iudicentur. Quod cum fit, infideles quidem contra voluntatem Dei faciunt, cum eius Evangelio non credunt: nec ideo tamen eum vincunt, verum seipsos fraudant magno et summo bono, malisque poenalibus implicant, experturi in suppliciis potestatem eius cuius in donis misericordiam contempserunt.*"

The same apparent contradiction, which we have met in the Bishop of Hippo when he speaks of the salvation of adults, is encountered also when he speaks of the salvation of children. In his letter CCXVII, 19, he seems to deny absolutely that God wills the salvation of those who die unbaptized, "*cupientibus festinantibusque parentibus, ministris quoque volentibus ac paratis, Deo nolente quod detur (baptismus) cum repente, antequam detur, expirat pro quo, ut acciperet currebatur . . . cum tam multi salvi non fiant, non quia ipsi, sed quia Deus non vult, quod sine ulla caligine manifestatur in parvulis.*"²⁶⁷ The reader may notice that the Saint sets aside the hypothesis of carelessness on the part of the parents, and gives God's unwillingness as the only explanation. Elsewhere, however, he affirms positively that, since children are dead in Adam, Jesus died for them also: "*Ibi sunt et parvuli, quia et pro ipsis Christus mortuus est: qui propterea pro omnibus mortuus est quia omnes mortui sunt.*"²⁶⁸

Evidently these contradictions cannot be accounted for unless we admit that St. Augustine distinguishes in God,

²⁶⁷ See also *De dono persever.*, 31.

²⁶⁸ *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, II, 175; *Contra Iulian.*, VI, 8.

though not plainly, two wills: one, antecedent; the other, consequent. We find this distinction, somewhat obscurely expressed, in connection with another topic, in the *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, II, 46, and in the imperfect work against Julian, II, 144.

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* *

Predestination has reprobation for its counterpart. Modern theologians reckon two kinds or rather two degrees of reprobation:—*negative* reprobation, which is the non-destination of an individual to the sight of God and to glory, inasmuch as it is a supernatural end that is not due to him; and *positive* reprobation, which consists in the infliction of eternal and vindictive pains,—the pain of sense, and the pain of loss looked upon as a chastisement.

St. Augustine does not make this distinction. His theory of reprobation is very plain. All men have sinned in Adam, and therefore all men born or to be born, have, originally, incurred damnation. They are a *massa damnata*, *massa peccati*, *massa perditionis*. This damnation involves not only the privation of God's sight; it involves also, as has been seen in connection with children, a positive, though comparatively mild, pain of sense.

St. Augustine repeats again and again that God might have rescued and separated no one from this mass; the condemnation was just: "*Etiam si nullus inde liberaretur, nemo posset Dei vituperare iustitiam.*"²⁶⁹ But, out of pure mercy, He separates from this mass a certain number of elect. These are the predestined. The others are not separated from the mass; they are not the object of a special choice; they are the reprobate: "*Non sunt ab illa conspersione discreti quam constat esse damnatam.*"²⁷⁰ Giving

²⁶⁹ *Enchiridion*, XCIX; *De dono persever.*, 16; *Epist.* CLXXX, 21.

²⁷⁰ *De corrept. et grat.*, 12.

due attention to all the texts of the Holy Doctor, it seems as though reprobation is made by way of *preterition* or *omission*. From the beginning there has been an act of the divine will condemning mankind in consequence of original sin. Regarding those who are not saved from the mass, no other act is necessary. God takes the predestined and leaves the others; He calls efficaciously the former and does not call the latter; He gives final perseverance to these, and not to those.²⁷¹ In some places, however, reference is made to predestination to eternal death:²⁷² we shall later on see how this expression must be interpreted.

Now, regarding this *preterition*, does God consider or does He not consider, besides the sin of origin — which, in our eyes, suffices to justify the divine way of dealing with the reprobate — the personal future demerits of the unpredestined? This, we see, is a question parallel to that of the predestination *ante* or *post praevisa merita*: is the act of divine preterition *ante* or *post praevisa demerita*?

For those children who die unbaptized, St. Augustine's answer is plain. In their case, no demerit — apart from original sin — could be foreseen. Original sin is, then, the only reason why these children are damned. This child was born guilty; God simply did not provide him with the grace of regeneration: "*Nulla quippe merita, etiam secundum ipsos pelagianos, possunt in parvulis inveniri cur aliorum mittantur in regnum, alii vero alienentur a regno.*"²⁷³

For adults, Petau thinks that the Holy Doctor's answer is the same.²⁷⁴ From the beginning, before considering the future personal merits or demerits of individuals, God

²⁷¹ *De dono persever.*, 21.

²⁷² *In Ioan.* tract. XLIII, 13; XLVIII, 6; CX, 2; *De civit. Dei*, XV, 1, 1; *Enchiridion*, C; *De peccator. merit. et remiss.*, II, 26; *De anima et eius origine*, IV, 16.

²⁷³ *De dono persever.*, 29, 21, 25; *Contra duas epist. pelag.*, II, 14; *Contra Iulian.*, IV, 42.

²⁷⁴ *De Deo*, lib. IX, cap. 9, 10.

has chosen some from the mass of perdition where they were held by the sin of origin, and has left the others therein. God has considered their future demerits only to determine the exact degree of suffering due to each one of the reprobate.

This is the idea contained in the *Enchiridion*, XCVIII, XCIX; *Contra Iulianum*, IV, 45, 46; *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, II, qu. 11, especially 17; *Epist.* CLXXXVI, 12, 15, 16, 21; CXCIV, 4, 5, 23; *De civitate Dei*, XVI, 35; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum*, II, 13. The predominant thought of all these texts is that between the predestined and the reprobate there is *eadem causa, causa communis*; both classes, being included in the mass, have deserved the same fate; the divine will alone has differentiated between them. We may add also that, in many passages, St. Augustine likens both the reprobation and predestination of adults to the reprobation and predestination of children who die before the age of reason: "*Quod in his (parvulis) videmus quorum liberationem bona eorum merita nulla praecedunt, et in his quorum damnationem utrisque communia originalia sola praecedunt, hoc et in maioribus fieri nequaquam omnino cunctemur, id est non putantes vel secundum sua merita gratiam cuiquam dari, vel nisi suis meritis quemquam puniri, sive pares qui liberantur atque puniuntur, sive dispaes habeant causas malas.*"²⁷⁵

Therefore, here again, we are confronted by a mystery: all that we know is that God is just. He predestines one who was lost: this is mercy; he leaves another in the state of loss: that is justice; for us the sin of origin suffices to account for all: "*Merito autem videretur iniustum quod*

²⁷⁵ *De dono perserver.*, 25; *Contra Iulian.*, IV, 42; *De corrept. et gr.*, 12. In some passages, however, for instance in *Epist.* CLXXXVI, 23; CXC, 9, St. Augustine seems to suppose the reprobation *post praevisa demerita*; and we must thus explain the expression, predestination to eternal death, which has been mentioned above.

fiunt vasa irae ad perditionem, si non esset ipsa universa ex Adam massa damnata. Quod ergo fiunt inde nascendo vasa irae pertinet ad debitam poenam: quod autem fiunt renascendo vasa misericordiae pertinet ad indebitam gratiam." ²⁷⁶

The Saint reverts frequently to this idea.

The unpredestined are not, nevertheless, abandoned by God. They are called, but "*non secundum propositum*"; they may for some time "*bene pieque vivere*" and be looked upon as elect and children of God, but "*non eos dicit filios Dei praescientia Dei*"; they are of us only in appearance; else they would have stayed with us (I John II, 19).²⁷⁷ Besides, for them there is no predestination to sin, and it is always freely that the wicked sin and are lost: "*Quod a Deo nos avertimus nostrum est, et haec est voluntas mala.*" ²⁷⁸ God merely abandons them to their own will, to their weak freewill; and in this sense He is said to harden the hearts of the wicked, using often their new sins to punish their former transgressions.²⁷⁹

This is St. Augustine's doctrine on the subject of predestination. We shall see more fully elsewhere the difficulties which it presented; there is one, however, which must be pointed out at this juncture, which, moreover, refers to the whole dogma of predestination. Some urged against this doctrine that it led to sloth and indifference to good works, since, whatever one might do, he would be either saved or damned according as he was predestined or not.²⁸⁰ To this objection the Bishop of Hippo replied that predestination should not, any more than the divine prescience, lead men

²⁷⁶ *Epist. CXC*, 9, 11, 12; *CLXXXVI*, 24-26; *De dono persever.*, 16; *De civit. Dei*, XIV, 26.

²⁷⁷ *De corrept. et gr.*, 16, 17, 19, 20; *De dono persever.*, 21.

²⁷⁸ *De peccat. merit. et remiss.*, II, 31; *De corrept. et gr.*, 42; *Epist. CLXXXVI*, 23; *CXCIV*, 12.

²⁷⁹ *De gratia et lib. arbitr.*, 41, 42; *De natura et gratia*, 24; *Contra Iulian.*, V, 12; *Contra Iulian. op. imp.*, IV, 34.

²⁸⁰ *De dono persever.*, 38.

to indifference; in both cases, our freedom is safeguarded, and we are ignorant of God's designs in our regard; and this ignorance is useful, nay necessary to make us at the same time humble and courageous.²⁸¹

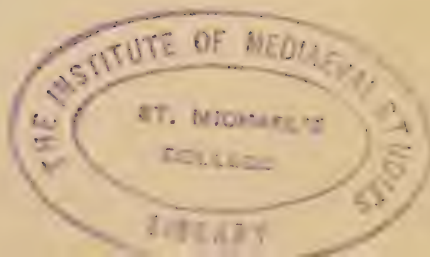
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As we conclude this lengthy study of St. Augustine's theology, it is useless to make any apology for the disproportion between our exposition and the great subject which we had to treat. Because of its richness, depth and variety, the teaching of the great Doctor cannot be easily summed up in a few short and clearcut formulas. However imperfect they are, the preceding pages will enable the reader to realize the immense progress made by Christian theology through the writings of the Bishop of Hippo. More than his Latin predecessors — except Victorinus — he introduces philosophy into the study of Revelation. On the subject of the Trinity, he imparts its decisive form to the Western idea of an immanent Trinity, proclaims explicitly the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, and anticipates the attempts at psychological explanations made later on by the Middle Ages. Against Leporius, he already settles the problem of one personality in Jesus Christ; then, he gives, chiefly in his Donatist controversy, a strong impulse to ecclesiology and to the doctrine of the sacraments. Origenism had somewhat troubled such Christian thinkers as Jerome and Ambrose. With sovereign authority, Augustine dispels the shadows and reestablishes tradition. However, it is principally in the struggle against the Pelagians and on the subject of grace that he displays all the resources of his wonderful genius. It would be an exaggeration to say that, there, everything had to be created. At the end of the 4th century, there were on these subjects, besides

²⁸¹ *De dono persever.*, 38, 40-42.

Biblical texts, traditional data. But these data had to be disentangled, explained, stated with accuracy, coördinated and defended, and this task the Bishop of Hippo accomplished almost single-handed. That in this vast work there may be weak parts, and that, on some particular point, his expression or even his teaching may be exaggerated is not surprising. He was a pioneer and an African. But while the Church has not adopted all the elements of his doctrine and while it cannot be said without restriction that St. Augustine's theology on the subject of original sin, grace and predestination is the theology of the Church, it is beyond question that all the substance of his theology has passed into her dogmatic definitions, and that he must be looked upon as the founder of supernatural Christian anthropology. No theologian before or since has ever found himself in the midst of more trying circumstances, in presence of such hard problems, nor brought to their solution more depth and keenness of intellect.



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